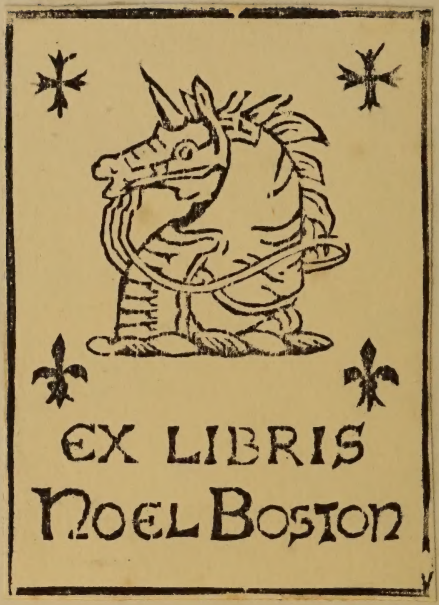
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THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND

THE HISTORIC MONUMENTS OF ENGLAND

EDITED BY
A. HAMILTON THOMPSON

PARISH CHURCH ARCHITECTURE

BY
E. TYRRELL GREEN

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SALISBURY CATHEDRAL, BY CONSTABLE *Frontispiece*

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND

BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

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PREFACE

GUIDES to English cathedral churches exist in plenty, although full architectural histories of most of them, in which original documents take their proper share, still remain to be written. Although this book necessarily contains a general description of their architectural features and development, it is intended primarily to provide some account, not merely of the buildings, but of the institutions connected with them, and to treat the cathedral itself as an institution rather than to deal with cathedrals as individual structures. Few of those who visit our great churches and appreciate their value as works of art can fail to experience some curiosity with regard to their builders and to the uses for which they were built. Hitherto, the means of satisfying this curiosity have not been numerous, and the writer hopes that this volume, founded upon a long study of cathedral statutes and customs, may serve to bring out some of the general points which should be known in this connexion. Stress has been chiefly laid upon the customs of the "old foundations," churches of secular canons, without paying detailed attention to those which monastic cathedrals shared in common with churches of other monasteries. Questions of space have prevented full discussion of the constitution of the "new foundations" of Henry VIII; but enough is said of these to make their general lines fairly clear, and some space has been given to modern developments in the constitution of cathedral chapters.

A. H. T.

LEEDS,
October 1925.

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DIAGRAM OF ST. MARY'S CATHEDRAL CHURCH, SALISBURY

1. Altare autenticum, magnum, principale.
2. „ S. Osmundi (1456).
3. „ S. Martini.
4. „ S. Katerinae.
5. „ Apostolorum (S. Petri).
6. „ *Salve*, Omnium Sanctorum (Trinitatis).
7. „ (? Omnium SS., c. 1460.)
8. „ S. Stephani (& Martt.).
9. „ S. Mariae Magd.
10. „ S. Nicolai.
11. „ S. Margaretae.
12. „ S. Laurencii.
13. „ S. Michaelis.
14. „ S. Andreae, Paroch.
15. „ S. Dionysii.
16. „ Parochiale ? (S. Crucis).
17. „ S. Thomae Cantuar.
18. „ S. Edmundi Conf.
19. „ S. Io. Bapt. (Reliquiarum).

F. Walter Lord Hungerford's Chantry grates, Chapel of the Annunciation, 1449.

G. Modern site of Wa. Hungerford's Chapel (F), removed in 1778–9.

✠ Remains of Consecration crosses on buttresses.

aa. Site of double aumbry.

pp. Site of double piscina.

A. Bp. Edmund Audley's Chapel of the Assumption, founded 1520.

B. Robert Lord Hungerford's Chantry of our Lord & B. Mary, 1471.*

C. Bp. Ric. Beauchamp's Chantry, 1481.*

C*. Sir J. Cheyney's Tomb, 1509.*

D. Site of Bp. J. Blith's tomb, † 1499.

α. Tomb of Bp. Simon of Ghent, † 31 Mar., 1315.

β. Tomb of Bp. Roger de Mortival, † 14 Mar., $13\frac{22}{30}$.

γ. Pulpitum.
Gradus presbyterii.

η. Ostium presbyterii australe.

κ. Crux.

ν. Stallum Decani.

π. Consistory Court.

τ. Stallum Thesaurii.

δ. Gradus chori.

ζ. Sedes episcopi.

θ. Ostium presbyterii boreale.

μ. Gradus inter formulas ?

ξ Stallum Cantoris.

σ. Stallum Cancellarii.

φ, or φ′, Lavatory : Removed to ψ.

[*Removed in 1789.]

See diagram facing p. 113.

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THE CATHEDRAL CHURCHES OF ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH AND CHAPTER

§ 1. The popular idea of a cathedral church is of a building much larger than a parish church and more remarkable for its architectural beauty. Other points may affect this notion: few people can fail to see that our older cathedrals have special features of plan and arrangement which distinguish them from ordinary churches. Many of them have more than one tower; a cloister and a chapter-house are frequently attached to them; internally, the choir and nave, divided from each other by a screen, form what are practically two separate churches, while, in all but a very few, there is a space behind the altar, divided into chapels or forming a way of access to a chapel which projects eastward of the main building. Size and splendour, however, are the chief qualities which influence our conception of a cathedral. These are the peculiarities which lead English travellers to give the name cathedral indiscriminately to the large and magnificent churches of continental towns; while, on the other hand, many people find it hard to reconcile the parish churches which, in our own day, have become the cathedral churches of new English dioceses with their idea of what a cathedral should be.

§ 2. Although, in the natural course of things, medieval cathedral churches, enriched with large endowments and supported by contributions from the people of large dioceses, became great and splendid buildings, size and splendour were nevertheless not peculiar to them. These qualities were shared by the churches of many monasteries and of some of the establishments which we call collegiate. In these also the features of plan and arrangement which we have noticed would be found. Thus the great abbey churches of Gloucester and Peterborough, which did not become cathedrals until the reign of Henry VIII, had all or most of those features which we are accustomed to associate with cathedrals. The modern dioceses of Ripon, St. Albans and Southwell have been fortunate enough to find cathedral churches ready to hand in collegiate and monastic churches which escaped destruction or curtailment at the Reformation; and, if the abbey church of Bury St. Edmunds had been spared, the diocese of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich would have possessed a cathedral inferior to none in the requisites of such a building. These requisites, in fact, belong to a whole class of churches of which merely a few were or are cathedrals, and cannot be regarded as specially distinctive of a cathedral church.

§ 3. The one feature which marks off a cathedral from all other churches is its special relation to the bishop of the diocese. It is the church in which his *cathedra*, his chair or throne, is set up. It is the *sedes episcopalis*, his episcopal seat or see, by enthronement in which he acquires his right of jurisdiction within his diocese. Medieval bishops constantly referred to their cathedral churches as their spouses, to their union

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL *Plate ii.*
South West View.

GLOUCESTER CATHEDRAL
West Front and South side.

Plate iii.

with whom they owed their authority over their spiritual subjects. Thus the cathedral church is the mother church, the *matrix ecclesia*, of the diocese, to which and to its bishop the people of the diocese owe obedience. Successive bishops will feel it their duty to adorn their spouse, and her sons throughout the diocese will honour their mother with gifts and legacies, until she exceeds all other local churches in beauty and magnificence. But this is merely the consequence of her traditional importance. The ruined church which St. Augustine restored at Canterbury and the church which Paulinus founded at York, though humble in comparison with the great medieval buildings which rose upon their sites, were as truly cathedrals; and to-day, the parish churches in which, at Chelmsford or Birmingham or Bradford, a bishop's see has been established, have as much right to the title of cathedral as the larger and more imposing structures which have risen at Truro and Liverpool to meet modern needs.

§ 4. At the present time, there are in England and Wales forty-three cathedral churches, to which may be added one or two, which, like Bath abbey, have a place in the title of the diocesan bishop. These are the result of successive periods in the formation of dioceses, which may be classified as follows:

(i) The period from the coming of St. Augustine to the Danish invasions, 597–870.

(ii) The later Saxon period, 870–1066.

(iii) The medieval period, 1066–1541.

(iv) The post-Reformation period, 1541–1836.

(v) The period of modern Church extension, 1836 to the present day.

The first two of these involve a number of difficult

questions, into which it is no part of the present work to enter. It should, however, be noted (1) that the vestiges of cathedral buildings which have come down to us from these ages are comparatively slight, and some are known to us merely by literary descriptions; (2) that there were several early episcopal sees which came to a premature end or were transferred elsewhere; (3) that, in some of these latter cases, we have no precise information which enables us to determine either the site or character of the cathedral church.

§ 5. The first period may be described as one of missionary expansion, in which the boundaries of dioceses were vaguely defined, but corresponded roughly to those of the civil power under whose protection they came into being. The bishop of the diocese and his clergy fixed the centre of their activities in a convenient place, where they founded a cathedral church, and from this point they extended their evangelistic work. In England as abroad, old centres of population which had preserved some continuity with the Roman past were the natural places chosen: such places, owing to their geographical convenience, had been to some extent resettled by Saxon invaders. Thus St. Augustine established his see at Canterbury in 597, and, within a few years, in 604, outlying sees were founded westward at Rochester and London. Similarly, the mission of Paulinus to Northumbria in 625 was accompanied by the foundation of a see at York, the natural metropolis of the North of England. These four sees exist to-day; for the eclipse of the bishopric of York which followed the departure of Paulinus in 633 was only temporary. Four other sees trace their origin to this early period, Lichfield (656), Winchester

(662), Hereford (676), and Worcester (680). All these, with the exception of Lichfield, were fixed in towns which, by virtue of their position, were local capitals, meeting-places to which all roads led; and Lichfield, the favourite residence of the rulers of Mercia, although a new settlement off a main road, lay only a short distance from one of the great main arteries of Roman England and from the ruins of an important Romano-British station.

On the other hand, several sees were founded during this period or found a temporary home in small towns and villages which had few or none of the advantages of the more important centres. The fate of these was to disappear altogether or, in course of time, to suffer removal. Dorchester in Oxfordshire (634), though not without natural claims to be an ecclesiastical capital, was practically superseded by Winchester and Sherborne. Dunwich in Suffolk (630) and Lindisfarne (635) did not survive the Danish invasions, which were also fatal for the time being to Elmham (673), probably Southelmham in Suffolk, and put an end to the see of Lindsey (678), the cathedral of which is popularly supposed, though with no certain ground, to have been at Stow, near Lincoln. Hexham (678) came to an end even earlier, and Ripon, which seems to have become the seat of a bishop about the same date, remained so for only a short time. Even Leicester (680), eminently suited by its central position to become the permanent see-town of the Mercian kingdom, never recovered its episcopal dignity after the Danish inroads: the history of the see is obscure, and we know nothing of the site of its cathedral church. Two sees, however, founded in districts remote from the invader, preserved their

existence till the Norman Conquest, Sherborne (705) and Selsey (709).

§ 6. At the opening of the tenth century the number of sees in England may be reckoned as twelve, viz. Canterbury, York, London, Rochester, Lichfield, Winchester, Hereford, Worcester, Sherborne, Selsey, with two more. In the north, the monks of Lindisfarne had migrated with St. Cuthbert's body to Chester-le-Street; while Dorchester-on-Thames, formerly the seat of a West Saxon bishop, was becoming recognised as the see-town of the Mercian district which lay upon the English side of the Danelaw boundary. Of these twelve sees, however, Lichfield, lying just within the Danelaw, was temporarily deserted. Dorchester may be regarded as the successor of the defunct see of Leicester. The more easterly sees, Lindsey and Elmham, had ceased to exist, though both were revived in the middle of the tenth century. The revival of Lindsey, however, was fitful: it disappeared during the second period of Danish invasion, and the bishops of Dorchester eventually were regarded as the diocesans of Lindsey as well as of the large Mercian area which they had inherited from Leicester.

In 909 three new dioceses were formed in Wessex and the district to the south-west. Ramsbury in east Wiltshire became the see-town of a diocese formed by the subdivision of that of Sherborne; Wells was made the centre of a diocese corresponding to Somerset, and Crediton that of a diocese in Devon. In 930 a Cornish diocese came into being with its see at St. Germans. Thus, in the middle of the tenth century, if we include Elmham and Lindsey, the number of English dioceses had risen to eighteen. During the next hundred years

it was reduced to fifteen, by the disappearance of Lindsey after 1004, by that of an independent see of Cornwall in 1046, and by the amalgamation of Sherborne and Ramsbury in 1058. But, during the same period, two other changes took place. In 995 Chester-le-Street was abandoned for Durham, and in 1050 Bishop Leofric made Exeter the capital of the united dioceses of Crediton and Cornwall.

§ 7. At the Norman Conquest, therefore, the fifteen English dioceses were those of Canterbury, York, London, Rochester, Lichfield, Winchester, Hereford, Worcester, Wells, Durham, Exeter, Elmham, Dorchester, Sherborne and Selsey. During the epoch of organisation which followed, the areas of these dioceses became more clearly defined, and their division into archdeaconries and rural deaneries was achieved. From our point of view, the most important change was the removal of sees to new administrative centres. Of the first eleven names on the list, all have retained their position as centres of dioceses; but two have held it jointly with other churches. In 1075 the see of Lichfield was removed to St. John's at Chester, and in 1095 another change was made by its transference to the priory church at Coventry. In 1088 the see of Wells was removed to the priory church of Bath, and, although Wells recovered its importance as the actual cathedral church of Somerset, Bath has ever since taken precedence of it in the official title of the bishop. Lichfield similarly recovered its position; but its bishop throughout the middle ages was popularly called the bishop of Chester, and his official style was bishop of Coventry and Lichfield. After the Reformation he became bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and it was

not until the nineteenth century, when Coventry became part of the diocese of Worcester, that its name was dropped from his title.

The four remaining sees were less fortunate. In 1075 Elmham was transferred to Thetford, Sherborne to Old Sarum, and Selsey to Chichester; while, about the same time, Lincoln succeeded Dorchester as the capital of the great east Midland diocese between the Humber and the Thames. In 1094 the short-lived see of Thetford was removed to Norwich. Hitherto, no new diocese had been formed: the number remained as it had been at the Conquest, until, in 1109, the abbey church of Ely was made the see of a bishop, and, about 1133, Carlisle obtained the same dignity, which for some years to come was to be somewhat precarious.

§ 8. Thus, by the end of the reign of Henry I, the seventeen English dioceses which remained for four hundred years without further addition had come into being. The Norman settlement of ecclesiastical affairs produced a state of things so stable that even the Reformation failed to disturb it seriously. After 1133 the one really important change was the removal of the bishop and his clergy from the fortress-city of Old Sarum to the new town of Salisbury, which took place in 1219. Meanwhile, during the first half of the twelfth century, the four historic sees of Wales began to take their place as integral members of the English Church and of the province of Canterbury. The northern limit of the province of York was long a matter of debate, owing to the claim of the archbishops to exercise their primacy over the Scottish bishops; and, until the fourteenth century, the bishops of Galloway, with their cathedral at Whithorn, continued to pay them a

nominal obedience and, from time to time, to receive consecration at their hands.

§ 9. After the suppression of the monasteries, the cathedral churches which had been previously monastic, except Bath and Coventry, were refounded, a dean and prebendaries taking the place of the prior and convent in each. A scheme was entertained for the formation of a number of new sees, which, if it had been seriously taken in hand, would have saved some noble churches from ruin. In the end, six churches were chosen as cathedrals, the Benedictine abbeys of Westminster, Gloucester, Peterborough and Chester, and the Augustinian abbeys of Bristol and Oseney. These entered upon this new chapter in their history in 1541 and 1542. Westminster, with a diocese which had no clearly defined existence outside the immediate neighbourhood of the church, afforded no special opening for a bishop's activities, and its first bishop was its last. The see of Oseney was soon removed to Christ Church, the ancient priory church of St. Frideswide in Oxford. It may also be noted that the cathedral of Chester, the monastic church of St. Werburgh, was quite distinct from the collegiate church of St. John, which had been one of the cathedrals of the bishops of Lichfield. The dioceses served by these churches were formed merely by the transference of archdeaconries *en bloc* from the older dioceses. Peterborough and Oxford each took an archdeaconry from Lincoln, Gloucester one from Worcester. Bristol, which otherwise would have had only a small local slice of the archdeaconry of Gloucester, was provided with the distant archdeaconry of Dorset, taken from Salisbury. The diocese of Chester, formed by uniting the archdeaconry of Chester, previously in Lichfield, with the huge arch-

deaconry of Richmond, transferred from York, was even more inconvenient for a bishop who might desire to make the acquaintance of his flock in their own homes.

§ 10. The medieval idea of a bishop's office, with which large and unwieldy dioceses were perfectly consistent, underwent no great change until the growth of industrialism and the competition of new religious bodies made the revision of the diocesan administration of England imperative. Between 1836 and 1840 the ecclesiastical commissioners appointed under the act of 5 and 6 William IV effected a reformation which removed many historical landmarks and introduced many new features into the constitution of cathedral churches of which mention will be made in the proper place. The re-arrangement of dioceses was a task which, without the creation of many new ones, was bound to be somewhat unsatisfactory. The changes made, however, were in the direction of more manageable areas. At the same time, while diocesan boundaries were freely shifted, only one new diocese, that of Ripon, was formed, relieving those of York and Chester of their outlying members in Yorkshire. On the other hand, the dioceses of Gloucester and Bristol were united into one, which included North Wiltshire instead of Dorset. If this showed an improvement upon Henry VIII's diocesan arrangements, the transference of the county of Essex from London to Rochester was less considerate. In any case, the revision of boundaries called for further improvement. It was not, however, until 1848 that the diocese of Manchester came into active life, and not until 1877 that, with St. Albans and Truro, a beginning was made of that general

subdivision of dioceses which has been fairly frequent ever since. Liverpool followed in 1880, Newcastle in 1882, Southwell in 1884, and Wakefield in 1888. Bristol regained independence in 1897 : then came Southwark and Birmingham in 1905. Nine years later, on the eve of the great war in 1914, Sheffield, St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich and Chelmsford were formed. In 1920 came Coventry and Bradford, the latest of English dioceses ; and, since then, the separated Church in Wales has founded dioceses of Monmouth and of Swansea and Brecon, the last of which is remarkable as the first attempt to subdivide the great medieval diocese of St. Davids.

The cathedrals of the seventeen dioceses created since 1836 are, with two exceptions, Truro and Liverpool, churches which have been adapted from purely parochial to their present uses. Ripon and Southwell, churches which long served the purpose of secondary cathedrals in the diocese of York ; St. Albans, Southwark and Brecon, monastic churches of great dignity, stand in a class by themselves. Manchester, a church at once collegiate and parochial, was admirably suited for the purpose which it fulfils. Among the others, St. Nicholas' at Newcastle and St. Michael's at Coventry are pre-eminent examples of large parish churches of the first class, and no modern city can desire a more suitable seat for its bishop than a church like these.

§ 11. We must now turn to the question of the special ends for which our cathedrals were built. We have already noted the chief and all-important point of distinction between a cathedral and all other types of church, with one or other of which it may otherwise be classed. It may be a monastic church, or a church

served by a body of secular clergy who are bound to no monastic rule; it may be an ordinary parish church or even the chapel of a college at one of the universities, as Christ Church at Oxford is to-day; but it is the possession of the bishop's throne which gives it its cathedral dignity. In the beginning, as we have said, the cathedral of an early Christian diocese was the bishop's own church, in which he celebrated the Holy Mysteries and from his throne in which he exercised his office as the spiritual father and judge of the Christian community. To this church also was attached, as the bishop's assistants, a body of clergy, the priests who served the other altars of the cathedral city, the deacons and subdeacons who ministered to the bishop at the high altar and were at his service in his dealings with his spiritual subjects. The college of cardinals, with its seven bishops of the suburban Roman sees which grew up round the papal city and its cathedral church of St. John Lateran, its priests who take their titles from the city churches of Rome, and its deacons with similar titles, represents an imposing development from the primitive arrangement, which nevertheless corresponds closely in form to the early constitution of the church in Rome. It would be right to say that, in our earliest cathedrals, at Canterbury, London and Rochester, the bishop was the incumbent of his own church, assisted by the clergy who formed his household. London and Rochester, in their early days, were, it might almost be said, the suburban sees of Canterbury, ruled by members of St. Augustine's personal staff; and, for some centuries after the foundation of his see, the bishop of Rochester, appointed directly by the archbishop, was little more than an

assistant bishop with special charge of a district which was not wholly separated from the diocese of Canterbury.

§ 12. One feature, however, distinguished the early cathedrals of England from those of the Continent. Abroad, the clergy of cathedral churches were, by general custom, seculars: that is, they lived in the world as opposed to monks, who lived under rule within the walls of a monastery. The dioceses of France, for example, traced back their origin to an age when western monasticism was in its infancy or was as yet to come. In most of the older French cities the cathedral church was first in the field: when the monastic system reached them, it did not invade the cathedrals, but found a settlement outside the city walls. What we see at York, where the cathedral is within the old walls of the city, while the ruins of the Benedictine abbey stand immediately outside, is parallel to what may be seen at Paris, Rouen, Chartres, Le Mans, and many other French towns. Recent research tends to show that, in the south and midlands, the earliest cathedral bodies were communities of clerks rather than of monks. St. Augustine had been a monk, but his episcopal household of clerks was distinct from the monastery founded by him at Canterbury, and afterwards called by his name. In the Celtic north, however, the abbots of monasteries held a position and exercised an influence which were at least equal to those of bishops, and, within the monasteries themselves, bishops might be found who were actually subordinate to abbots. Thus two opposite tendencies prevailed throughout the first of the periods which have been defined already. We know very little of the constitution of our cathedral churches before the Danish

invasion; but, even where the approximation to a monastic life was closest, it should be remembered that no definite monastic rule was observed, and that there was a distinction between clerks living under a bishop and monks ruled by an abbot.

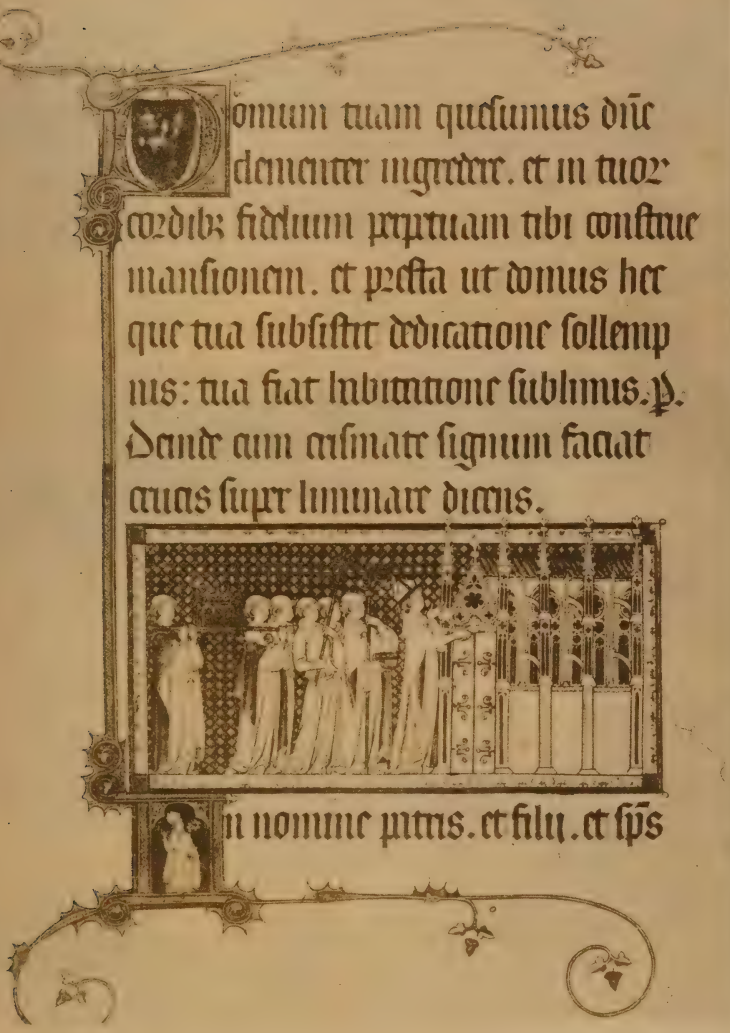
Nevertheless, as time went on, English cathedral churches became more closely identified with monastic establishments and with the increasing popularity of the rule of St. Benedict in the west. The great feature of the reform of the Church at the end of the tenth century, promoted by Dunstan and actively fostered by such prelates as Ethelwold of Winchester and Oswald of Worcester and York, was the enforcement of the monastic life in churches which had been destroyed and in which discipline had decayed. It is true that the ardour thus excited was short-lived, and that, during the troubles which followed, many monasteries slipped back into a casual and irregular state of living, which was difficult to distinguish from that of the secular clergy. But it may be said that, until the period following the Conquest, the idea prevailed that the staff of clergy attached to a cathedral church should follow, if not the Benedictine rule, at any rate some rule which involved community of life and property.

§ 13. Such a rule, before the end of the eighth century, had been prescribed for the clergy of the cathedral church of Metz by St. Chrodegang and had been adopted in the cathedrals of Lorraine and the neighbouring districts. Those who lived in such communities were called canons (*canonici*): they followed the *vita canonica*, a life in accordance with the canons of the Church, though the title also probably refers to the canon or official list on which their names

were inscribed. At the reforming council of Aix-la-Chapelle in 817 an endeavour was made to compel all clerks who were not monks to lead the canonical life, and a number of edicts were issued for their guidance. Canons, however, were allowed to retain private property, and thus the natural tendency of canons, nominally living in common, was to revert to a secular and individual life. The canonical system obtained some hold in England before the Conquest. It was followed, for example, at York and its daughter churches of Beverley and Southwell during the reign of Edward the Confessor. Domesday Book contains numerous entries relating to or indicating the existence of small bodies of canons in the churches of towns or of the larger villages. The western churches at Ramsbury, Wells and Crediton seem to have been served from the beginning by canons who followed customs of their own rather than a recognised rule of life. At the same time, the distinction between monks and canons at the Conquest was probably not very noticeable. If the clergy at York were canons, and those at Durham were monks, there was not much difference in their manner of living. Both bodies were equally *collegia*, colleges or collections of persons, and the term *monasterium*, monastery or minster, was applied indiscriminately to the common churches and habitations of both. It is interesting to notice that, in common speech, the term "minster" has clung most persistently to churches, not of monks, but of canons, such as York, Beverley, Ripon, Southwell and Lincoln; and this may indicate that, in the period before the Conquest, the idea of a monastery had become more prominently associated with canonical than with

strictly monastic establishments, and that the latter were showing a strong tendency to approximate to the canonical model.

§ 14. We have already referred to the stability which the Norman Conquest brought to ecclesiastical institutions. English monasticism revived under the influence of Norman bishops and abbots. The Conqueror's chief minister, Lanfranc, who became archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, was a Benedictine monk from the Norman abbey of Bec. He came to a cathedral church which had been founded nearly five centuries before by a monk, and he reorganised it on a strictly Benedictine model. Thus the metropolitan cathedral of England was the church of a monastery: upon its north side stood the monastic buildings, with the cloister, in which the daily life of the monks was spent, adjoining the nave. Similarly, Rochester, Winchester and Worcester, former centres of monastic life, continued to be monastic churches. Durham, with traditions of Celtic monasticism derived from Lindisfarne, was revived as a Benedictine house by bishop William of Saint-Calais, the founder of its magnificent church. The cathedral and monastery of Norwich arose side by side during the last decade of the eleventh century. Another Benedictine cathedral was added to the list, when the see of Ely was founded in 1109; and finally Carlisle, founded about 1133, was the church of a monastery of Austin canons. Such churches and monasteries were ruled by priors, not by abbots: their bishops, though not necessarily monks or canons, and very often seculars, were regarded in the light of honorary abbots of cathedral churches with whose actual government they had little to do.


omum tuam quesumus dñe
clementer ingredere. et in tuor
cordib; fidelium perpetuam tibi constitue
mansionem. et presta ut domus hec
que tua subsistit dedicatione sollemp
nis: tua fiat habitatione sublimis. ℣.
Deus cum consumat signum faciat
cuius super luminare dicens.
n nomine patris. et filii. et sps

CONSECRATION OF A CATHEDRAL CHURCH *Plate iv.*
(from the Metz Pontifical, early 14th century.)

THE FIRST CHURCH OF ST. PETER, WESTMINSTER *Plate v.*
(from the Bayeux Tapestry.)

§ 15. In two cathedral churches, not long before the Conquest, the canonical system had been established in regular form. Leofric at Exeter and Giso at Wells had settled bodies of canons, leading a common life and sharing a common fund, on the model of the cathedral bodies of Lorraine. It was, however, at this period that a distinction began to be clearly marked between secular and regular canons. Canons who followed a rule derived from the writings of St. Augustine and lived like monks in their cloisters, renouncing all private possessions, were now definitely recognised among the monastic bodies, and were forming congregations upon the Continent. They obtained no footing in England before the beginning of the twelfth century: when the system was introduced, regular canons in many places superseded canons of the older type, with whom the communal life had become almost obsolete. The experiments at Exeter and Wells, which went back to an earlier model, were really a compromise between the laxness of the prevailing system and the comparative strictness of the new. The constitution of Exeter remained the basis on which the cathedral body existed throughout the middle ages: the common life was abandoned, but each canon received his yearly share from the common fund as his statutory prebend or income. At Wells traces of the arrangement survived in the equal division of the revenues of one large manor which belonged to the church among fifteen of the canons. Neither cathedral was drawn within the monastic system. But John of Tours, who succeeded Giso in 1088, preferred the monastic alternative, and the see was transferred from Wells to the Benedictine priory of Bath. This, as well as the establishment of

the see of Lichfield in the priory church of Coventry, has been already noticed. The object in both cases was to supersede a church of canons by a church of monks. In the end, however, bishops who were usually seculars and, if they belonged to a monastic order, were not necessarily Benedictines, preferred to rule their dioceses from Wells or Lichfield and merely to recognise that part of their dignity was derived from Bath or Coventry. In some other dioceses, indeed, where the cathedral was monastic, bishops showed some activity in founding or strengthening churches of secular canons; and, in the diocese of Worcester, bishop Giffard (1268–1302) made an attempt to convert the collegiate church of Westbury-on-Trym into a cathedral among whose canons he would feel himself more securely master in his own house than among the monks of Worcester.

§ 16. While the Norman Conquest may be said to have given a permanent form to monastic institutions in cathedral churches, it also affected secular chapters in an equally decisive, but rather different way. What the Normans found in the numerous churches served by small bodies of secular canons was probably a manner of life not unlike that at Exeter and Wells, founded upon the principle of common buildings and a common fund. This was certainly the type of life which the northern archbishops, during the reign of the Confessor, sought to foster in their churches of York, Beverley, Ripon and Southwell, with a common dormitory and refectory. Thomas of Bayeux, who became archbishop of York in 1070, found his church in poor condition: the Conqueror's punitive expedition to the north in the previous year had wasted its property, and only a few canons were left. For a time the new

archbishop endeavoured to improve matters by inducing canons to return and putting the revenues under the control of a provost (*praepositus*). The duties of the provost, as in many foreign cathedrals, were mainly financial; but neither the title nor the office was ever general in England as that of a dignitary permanently attached to a cathedral church, and even that important official, the provost of Beverley, was an external officer who, unless he happened to be a canon, had no place in the chapter whose revenues he administered. As a matter of fact, it became the custom, as time went on, for a chapter to elect one of its members yearly as provost, to act as keeper of the common property; but this carried with it no special dignity, and the only cathedral in which the office of provost was attached to a particular canonry and prebend was that of Wells.

The constitution which Thomas eventually brought into being at York was that of a chapter of canons with a dean (*decanus*) as its permanent head. Whether Thomas or, as is equally likely, St. Osmund of Salisbury deserves the credit of introducing this system does not greatly matter. It was the ordinary system of the Norman churches, and the constitution of York was modelled upon that of Bayeux, where Thomas had been canon and chancellor. The number of canons was increased, and prebends or regular sources of income were provided for each canon out of estates, manors and churches granted to the chapter out of the episcopal property or by other benefactors. Some proportion of these was retained, to be held by the chapter in common; but each of the separate prebends was a local unit, divided from the rest and set apart

as the income belonging to a special stall in the church. The prebend (*praebenda*) was the "provender" of a canon, taking its origin in daily distributions of food or money from a common source, but eventually applied to an income of varying value, which might, on the one hand, produce a very large average sum, or, on the other, might be only a small customary payment in cash. As a rule, prebends were graded for priests, deacons and subdeacons, the priest-prebends being generally, as at Salisbury, the most valuable. The nominal distinction, however, between the orders of the canons who held them, was seldom closely adhered to and in time gradually disappeared; while occasionally a minor prebend acquired a money value which placed it among the best benefices which the church had to offer.

§ 17. The canon of a cathedral church was thus also the prebendary of the prebend which formed his source of income. His position in the chapter depended upon his occupation of a canonical stall in the church and of the prebend attached to it. Of these canons and prebendaries, four, however, held special dignities which required continual residence. The dean, elected by the canons from their number and confirmed by the bishop, was president of the chapter, and occupied the stall at the south-west corner of the choir. The other three, appointed directly by the bishop, were the precentor, treasurer and chancellor. The precentor, responsible for the ordering of the services and music, sat at the north-west corner of the choir, opposite the dean: hence we have the familiar titles of the two sides of a choir, *decani*, the dean's side, and *cantoris*, the precentor's or chanter's. The treasurer's stall was

at the north-eastern corner: his duty was to keep the treasure, the plate, vestments and relics of the church, to see that the altars were properly arranged for services, and generally to look after the furniture of the building, the clock, bells, etc. The chancellor, whose stall was at the south-east corner, next the bishop's throne, was the secretary of the chapter, responsible for the proper drawing-up of its documents, and the custodian of its common seal. With this he usually combined the offices of *theologus*, delivering or, at any rate, arranging for the delivery of theological lectures, and *scolasticus*, or master of the school for clerks attached to the cathedral. Just as the precentor exercised control over the teaching of song in the cathedral city, licensing teachers, so the chancellor had supervision of grammar-schools in the city and, to some extent, throughout the diocese.

§ 18. It should be clearly understood that promotion to these dignities carried no position in the chapter without possession of a canonry and prebend. Even the dean, whose title was officially prefixed to that of the chapter, was considered to owe his right to sit in chapter to his possession of a prebendal as distinct from his decanal stall. As it was possible, and indeed frequently happened, that a man was preferred to a dignity in a cathedral church without the qualification of having been previously a canon of it, it became usual to attach certain prebends to dignities and to the important office of subdean, which, though not a dignity, carried with it the duty of presiding in chapter during the dean's absence. The cathedral chapter was therefore fundamentally a collection of canons with prebends; and, although the various

archdeacons of a diocese were generally canons of the cathedral church and were sometimes reckoned, as at St. Paul's, among its dignitaries, there are cases of archdeacons who, while their archdeaconries were reckoned technically as "offices" or "parsonages" in the cathedral, had no seat in chapter owing to the fact that they held no prebends.

§ 19. Two special points come into prominence with regard to the early history of secular cathedral chapters. In the beginning, the importance of the chapter proceeded from the bishop. The canons, appointed by him, were his privy council, composed of clerks whom he chose to aid him in the administration of the diocese. He himself held a prebend, and was a canon of his church, with a right to sit in chapter: in many places, as at Salisbury, this custom long survived: the bishop had his own prebend and his own allotted share of psalms to be said daily from the psalter as divided among the canons. But the augmentation of the property of chapters by bishops, and the establishment of deans as the permanent heads of chapters, led to the growth of rights and privileges which lessened the intimacy between the bishop and his cathedral church. Deans and chapters became republics with a considerable amount of independence in their churches and territories, jealous of the authority of the bishop and anxious to limit his power in his church. Thus, the chapter of York acquired a spiritual jurisdiction over its subject parishes and manors, which placed them quite outside the archbishop's control, save for those rites which only a bishop could administer. Beverley, Ripon and Southwell, which served as local cathedrals for certain parts of the large diocese of

York, had equal liberties; and, at Hereford and Chichester, the dean and chapter were absolute in the cathedral city. Everywhere the bishop's right to visit and correct the faults of his chapter was disputed or limited by mutual agreement to a merely formal visitation; and the privileges asserted by great monasteries like Durham and Worcester in dealing with episcopal authority have their counterpart in the privileges of such churches as York, Lincoln and Salisbury. Consequently, though the cathedral church was the source of the bishop's authority, and though its canons and archdeacons were frequently trusted members of his household, its governing body stood upon precedents with which it was imprudent for him to interfere. Wise bishops hesitated to provoke the opposition of deans and chapters, and, although they possessed houses or palaces in their cathedral cities, they seldom resided in them for long at a time, and then only when ordinations or diocesan synods required their presence. As time went on, absentee bishops, occupied in offices of state, were common; but a bishop who devoted his time to diocesan administration habitually lived in his country houses, without attempting to compete with the canons on their own ground.

§ 20. As has been said, the appointment of members of the chapter, apart from the elected dean, lay with the bishop; and thus members of his private household formed a standing element in it and took a large share in the official business of the diocese. The more valuable prebends, however, were customarily reserved for persons of greater importance, and vacancies in them were carefully watched by the Crown on the one

hand and the papacy on the other. Between these two forces, themselves in frequent conflict, but open to mutual compromise, bishops' nominees had a poor chance; and every vacancy in a bishopric, putting benefices in the bishop's gift at the temporary disposal of the Crown, meant an influx of clerks employed in the chancery and other government offices into vacant prebends as a source of payment for their services to the state. A prebend involved no cure of souls and therefore no residence: even if it consisted of the rectorial income of a parish church, the fact that the benefice was held as a prebend in a greater church relieved its holder of any such responsibilities. Thus, a large proportion of the canons of the greater cathedral churches, and to some extent of the less wealthy, were non-resident, and clerks in high positions of trust frequently held prebends in several cathedral churches at once, in none of which they resided. In this way, only a limited number of canons resided in the cathedral city.

§ 21. There grew up thus a distinction between the small body of residents and the large body of non-residents. Every canon in theory might reside, and at York each of the more important prebends had a house belonging to it, near the cathedral. But the rules for residence, of which more will be said in a later chapter, were stringent, and it would have been impossible for a canon, living habitually in London or in the household of some noble patron, to fulfil them. Moreover, it was much to the advantage of the residentiaries to make residence a difficult matter; for residence, if it had its burdens, also implied the disposal of a dividend or of some substantial part of

the chapter's common property, from which non-residents were excluded, and obviously residentiaries were unwilling to welcome additions to their number which would lessen their shares or defer their turn for succession to some valuable lease. Again, in some places, canons' houses were few in number, and there was insufficient accommodation for a large resident body. Further, each canon, resident or non-resident, had his vicar or deputy in choir, who was bound to reside; so that the services in church suffered no loss by his absence. The affairs of the church, in fact, got into the hands of a few residents, forming a quorum of the chapter; and, even on special occasions, such as an episcopal visitation, when some non-residents appeared, many canons were absent.

§ 22. Secular chapters of cathedrals survived the Reformation, although those of other collegiate churches, with few exceptions, were suppressed, and even that of Beverley, which had a peculiar constitutional interest second to none, perished. Some of the richer prebends, it is true, were appropriated by the Crown and granted to lay lessees: similarly, the prebends which, in several churches, had been annexed to abbots or priors of monasteries, disappeared. Otherwise, the old secular cathedral foundations were maintained, and the distinction between the general chapter of all the canons and the small resident executive became even more noticeable than before. The residentiaries, indeed, with limitations placed upon their number, formed the recognised chapter, and the greater chapter became a mere tradition. The number of vicars-choral was also cut down to a minimum, so that the whole staff of cathedral clergy was greatly decreased.

§ 23. Meanwhile, as we have noticed at an earlier point, a new foundation was given to cathedral churches previously monastic, which included the churches erected into cathedrals by Henry VIII. The new chapters consisted of a dean and a number of prebendaries, varying from twelve at Canterbury to five or even four in less well-endowed churches. It is noteworthy that in these cases the title of prebendary was used to the exclusion of that of canon, and that the prebends were given no local names, but were simply prebends of the first, second, third stalls and so on. In the old foundations, on the other hand, the custom grew up of referring to the residentiaries as canons, and to the non-residentiary canons as prebendaries, which has led to some confusion with regard to the use of these terms. Before the Reformation, no such distinction existed, and, in chapters of secular canons, the prebend was the estate, as we have seen, from which a canon, whether he resided or not, derived his income. The proper title, e.g. of a canon of Salisbury, is "canon of the cathedral church of Salisbury and prebendary of the prebend of A. in the same," and it is as a canon of the church that he has a right to sit in chapter.

§ 24. The old system, indeed, suffered little change until the great revision of ecclesiastical endowments at the beginning of the Victorian age. Cathedrals of the old and new foundations were then subjected to a course of treatment which practically eliminated the non-resident. Every cathedral was supplied with a dean and a small number of residentiary canons, normally four, with fixed annual stipends. In the new foundations the existing prebends were suppressed,

and stalls were appropriated to honorary canons appointed by the bishop, usually from among the parochial clergy of the diocese, but without any claim to take part in chapter business. Similarly, in the old foundations, while the picturesque names of the prebends were retained, their endowments, with a few unimportant exceptions, were taken and applied to other uses; and the occupants of the stalls, though clinging to the unsubstantial title of prebendaries, differed from honorary canons only in the fact that they remained members of the chapter. Vicars-choral and minor canons were no longer deputies for absentees, but were small bodies of clergy responsible for the musical part of the cathedral services. It may be said briefly that these changes simplified the existing system and removed anomalies. Even in cathedrals where non-residentiary canons were still members of the "greater chapter," the small residentiary chapter was finally recognised as the controlling body of the church.

§ 25. The modern constitution of an English cathedral is of three main types, irrespective of the original character of its foundation, and depending very largely upon financial reasons. In some churches the residentiary canons are constantly present, although "residence," understood as the duty of regular attendance at the daily services, is divided among them in equal proportions. Thus at Lincoln each residentiary has his dignity or office attached to his stall: the precentor, chancellor, subdean and archdeacon of Lincoln take respectively their three months of residence, but all have houses in the close and make their homes there. In other churches, the technical duty of residence

is construed as allowing absence from the cathedral church and city during the intervening periods, and the residentiary canons may have benefices at some distance, or even in another diocese, and come into actual residence only for their statutory terms. This custom, though now less general than it once was, still exists where canonries are somewhat poorly endowed. Conversely where, as at Gloucester and Norwich, one of the canonries has become appropriated to the mastership of a college at one of the universities, residence is possible only during university vacations; and while, at Oxford and Durham, canonries are attached to certain professorships in each university, canonries at Ely are held with professorships at Cambridge. In such cases residence assumes a very different character from that which it implied in the middle ages. Then, it is true, the residentiary usually held some other benefice, often at a long distance; but, habitually, he left this to be served by a vicar or curate: his home was in the cathedral close and he was regularly present at chapter meetings. In the case of a modern residentiary who comes to the cathedral from elsewhere for three months in the year, the position is reversed.

§ 26. The conversion of parish churches into cathedrals has produced a new and imperfect type of chapter, which yet holds great possibilities for the future. At Ripon and Manchester, the earliest of the nineteenth-century cathedrals, collegiate foundations, though of somewhat different types, already existed; and from the beginning the new model of a dean and four residentiary canons was established in them. But, owing to lack of endowments, it is seldom possible to

give a modern cathedral the full staff of dean and canons. At Truro, bishop Benson, a learned student of cathedral constitutions, laid the foundation of a chapter which combined the advantages of the new dispensation with many features borrowed from the old; but even here the bishop became *ex officio* dean, an arrangement for which there was a certain amount of medieval precedent in some of the smaller continental cathedrals, but which, in practice, puts the dignity of dean in commission. This system has been very generally adopted in more recent foundations, the duties of dean actually falling upon a subdean, who is usually the incumbent of the cathedral parish. Only at St. Albans has a deanery been founded within recent years, and this great church is without its full complement of residentiary canons.

Had the collegiate chapter of Southwell, as refounded by Queen Elizabeth, survived early nineteenth-century changes, a full residentiary chapter, on the lines of Ripon and Manchester, would have been possible, although here, as in the other great collegiate churches of the diocese of York before the Reformation, there had been no dean. In 1884, however, the old prebends no longer existed, and the new chapter was constituted of the bishop, the vicar or subdean, and honorary canons to whom the stalls were given under their old prebendal names. This, allowing for the gradual addition here and there, as at Newcastle, of other residentiary canons, represents the ordinary modern arrangement. The natural tendency, in new dioceses, is to foster the sense of corporate life among the members of the honorary chapter. Of late years also in two collegiate bodies, at St. Michael's, Coventry, and St.

Martin's, Leicester, the second of which is to become the cathedral church of a new diocese, a novel experiment has been tried in the appointment of a supplementary body of "lay canons," local laymen who will bring zealous churchmanship and practical business capacity to the deliberations of the chapter. But probably the most satisfactory expedient for the maintenance of a modern chapter has been devised in Wales, where the old cathedral chapters have shared in the general disendowment of the dioceses. At St. Asaph the honorary canons, whose stalls are designated by the names of their holders in the time of Henry VIII, all go into residence for a short period in rotation; and, although this does not satisfy the requirement of a permanent residentiary chapter with constant meetings, it, at any rate, provides for the close connexion of all the canons with the cathedral church, a principle which the medieval system tacitly abandoned, as the distinction between residents and non-residents was developed.

CHAPTER II

THE ARCHITECTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF CATHEDRAL CHURCHES

§ 1. From what has just been said about the origin of cathedral churches, it will be clearly understood that such churches may be of more than one type—i.e. there is no special type of church to which the title of cathedral can be applied upon mere grounds of size, plan or architectural magnificence. A cathedral church, however, whether it has held that rank for centuries or has acquired it in modern times, is usually in practice a church of outstanding importance both as regards its size and its architecture. Our older cathedrals are buildings to which the offerings of the faithful were contributed for generations: they were subject for various reasons to constant alteration and enlargement, so that every one of them is in its degree a lesson in the history of medieval architecture through its stages of progress. The same is true of many of our parish churches; but in these the funds available for building were much more limited and the work is, as a general rule, more simple and less easy to follow at first sight. Although, in minute detail, the history of the growth of any cathedral church presents problems which are difficult to solve and are matters of dispute, its general architectural features are clear and afford

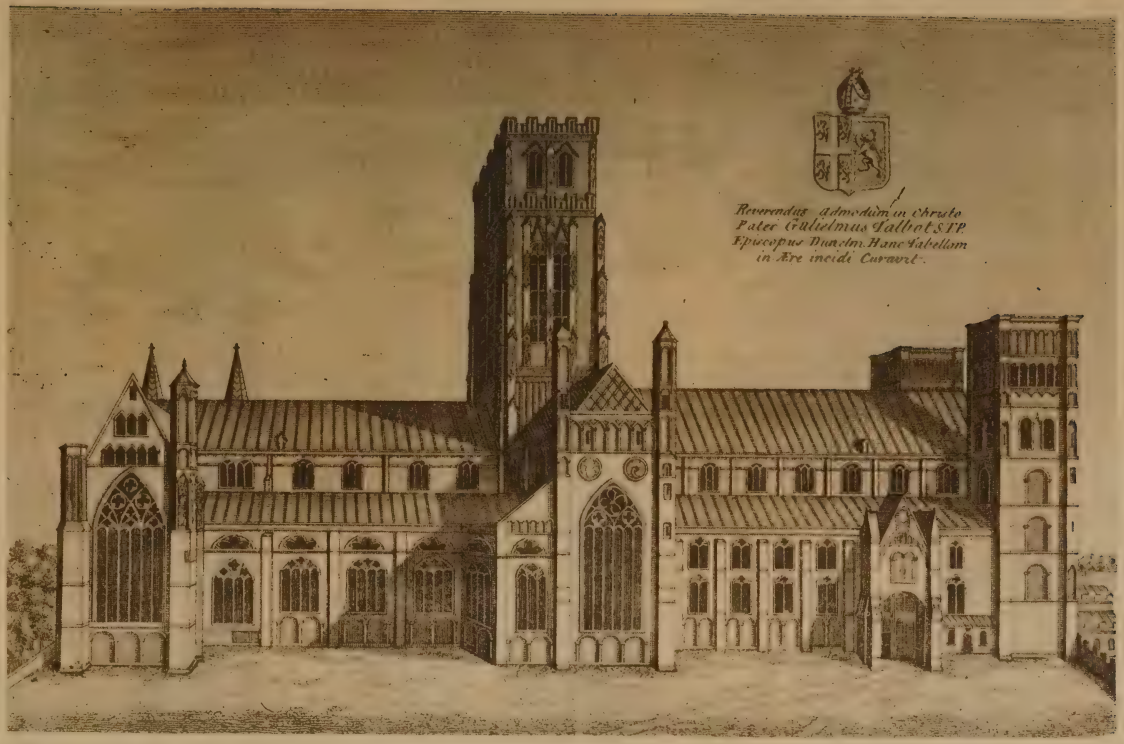
examples of the work of successive centuries which no one who has seen them can easily forget.

§ 2. In classifying these buildings for purposes of general architectural study the best method is to arrange them according to the bodies for whose services they were intended. They will thus fall under three heads, viz. (1) churches of religious orders ; (2) churches of secular canons ; and (3) parish churches, which may be considered in order.

(1) CHURCHES OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS

§ 3. These churches, attached to monasteries, include what are perhaps the most noble and impressive cathedrals in England. To the Benedictine order of monks belonged the existing cathedrals of Canterbury, Durham, Winchester, Bath, Ely, Gloucester, Norwich, Peterborough, Rochester, St. Albans, Worcester and Chester ; while Bristol, Carlisle, Oxford and Southwark were churches of Austin canons. The various dates at which these churches attained cathedral rank have been noticed already : it is necessary only to remember that Gloucester, Peterborough and St. Albans, all churches of the first rank in size and splendour, together with Chester and all the Augustinian churches except Carlisle, did not become cathedral churches until a period when their building had been completed and their original purpose as monastic churches had ceased.

§ 4. The reorganisation of the Church in England after the Conquest was due in no small degree to the activity of the Benedictine order. Under Norman bishops and abbots the life of English monasteries was revived and put upon a regular footing. Great churches



NORTH VIEW OF DURHAM CATHEDRAL.
(from Browne Willis.)

Plate vi.

DURHAM CATHEDRAL. *Plate vii*

in the architectural style which was prevalent in Normandy took the place of the older English monastic churches, which were probably small in comparison with their successors and rude and plain in style. Of these older churches, which disappeared during the century after the Conquest, the existing remains are very scanty and survive merely in the form of foundations, as at Peterborough, where their actual date and plan cannot be decided with certainty. The splendid buildings which superseded them, when completed, surpassed in scale those of the Norman province: they represent the most colossal development of the Romanesque architecture which spread over Europe during the centuries succeeding the fall of the Roman empire. This architecture, modelled at first upon Roman forms, assumed a special local character in the various districts in which it took root. It lost its quality of mere imitation and became a field for experiments out of which in due time emerged Gothic architecture, the crowning art of the middle ages. Its outward characteristic is massiveness: its round-headed arches and windows are merely openings in thick walls of stone. The lightening of these walls, the increase of the size of the openings in proportion to the stone-work, were problems of construction which during the twelfth century were gradually resolved, until there sprang out of the latest Romanesque an architecture which is its complete contrast.

§ 5. The first thing which it was necessary to build was the part of the church which was to contain the high altar and the choir for services. It may thus be said, as a general rule, that the church was begun at its east end, that so much of it as was immediately

required for the services of the monastery was built and dedicated, and that the work of the nave was proceeded with at leisure as funds permitted. This is the story which we learn from the evidence of documents, as at Norwich, where in 1096 bishop Herbert laid the foundation-stone of his cathedral church in the place where afterwards the Lady chapel was built, at its extreme east end, or as at Worcester, where in 1092 bishop Wulfstan summoned his clergy to a synod "in the crypt which he had built from its foundations and afterwards dedicated" beneath the choir. It is also the story which careful observation of architectural detail tells us, as at Peterborough, where, following the building westwards from the apse begun after the fire of 1117, we can trace the gradual alteration of forms which accompanied the progress of the work. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the nave of a great church which was not cathedral, the abbey church of Selby. At first, just so much of the nave was built as was necessary to contain the choir and afford support to the piers of the tower, together with the wall next the cloister. The work of the nave was then resumed at intervals: it grew westwards and upwards during more than a century and was not finished until the era of the full development of Gothic art. It was rarely that, as at Winchester and Tewkesbury, the work of building proceeded from east to west without interruption.

§ 6. We shall see that in process of time the eastern and earlier portions of these churches suffered much alteration. They were enlarged or entirely rebuilt to meet special needs. The crypt at Worcester remains, but Wulfstan's choir gave place in the thirteenth century to a larger and longer building. This has

happened in more or less degree elsewhere, until, in many cases, the earlier building of the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century survives only in fragments incorporated in later work or in foundations, or has been so transformed, as at Gloucester, that it has to be sought beneath its subsequent covering. We have no great church of the century after the Norman Conquest which has been absolutely unaltered at its east end. Durham, the most imposing of all, lost its three eastern apses in the thirteenth century, when a transept, the chapel of the nine altars, was added at this end of the church. What is left of these apses may be seen beneath the floor, and the imagination may busy itself in reconstructing from these remains the appearance of the church which was begun in 1093.

§ 7. The plan with three apses or semicircular terminations, the middle one projecting eastwards of the two smaller ones which flanked it at the end of the aisles, was the habitual plan of the larger churches of Normandy and was commonly used in England during the period of Norman influence. It was to be found, for example, in Lanfranc's cathedral church at Canterbury and in Edward the Confessor's abbey church at Westminster, begun shortly before the Conquest: sometimes, as at St. Albans, the apses of the aisles, which were generally finished square outside, were grouped with those of the eastern chapels of each transept, recessed one behind the other, so that the church ended in seven apses, the plan culminating in the great middle apse for the high altar. At Durham there were no transeptal apses: the chapels of each transept formed an aisle upon its eastern side; and at Peterborough a very similar plan was followed.

From Peterborough, where the middle apse of the twelfth-century church remains, we can gain a good idea of the imposing effect produced by this type of plan upon a large scale. Here, however, the side apses have disappeared and the church was lengthened at a late period by a chapel which hides the lower part of the great apse outside.

§ 8. An alternative plan was used at Norwich, Gloucester and some other churches. Here the aisles, instead of finishing in apses of their own, were continued in an unbroken ambulatory or path for processions, round the great apse; while from the eastern side of the ambulatory projected a series of chapels with apses. At Norwich there were three such chapels, two of which remain; and Norwich, although the upper part of the building has been greatly altered, remains the most perfect example of this second type, as Peterborough is of the first.

§ 9. At Norwich the disproportion between the long nave west of the tower and the short eastern arm is very noticeable in any view of the cathedral, and was typical of Romanesque churches. The eastern arm was the chancel of the church, the place for the high altar, supplied with aisles in order to afford communication with side-chapels and room for processions. Similarly, other chapels were provided on the east side of each transept, north and south of the tower. A number of chapels, each with its altar, was necessary, so as to allow monks in priests' orders to celebrate the daily mass, to which each was bound, conveniently and without waiting too long for their turn. The choir, as we noticed in the case of Selby, crossed the transepts beneath the tower and occupied the eastern part of

the nave: it was an arrangement of seats for ritual purposes, not a definite section of the building, which was actually composed of chancel or presbytery, tower and transept, and nave. The space between the high altar and the tower was three or four bays long: in the Confessor's church at Westminster there were, as in most of the churches of Normandy, only two bays. On the other hand, as at Norwich, the nave might be as many as fourteen bays in length. We must not imagine the nave merely as a vast and empty vestibule to the choir: in its aisles and beneath its arches would be found altars in screened-off chapels. In the middle of the nave the procession which went round the church from altar to altar and visited the chief buildings of the monastery in turn before high mass on Sunday made its last station; and, while in some cases the nave contained an altar at which the laity of some adjoining parish worshipped, it was sure to be full of lay-folk on great festivals and other special occasions.

§ 10. As we have seen, both the nave and the chancel had aisles, communicating with the main area by rows of arches. Above these arches was a second row, opening into the space between the vaulted ceiling of the aisles and the lean-to outer roof by which it was protected: this space is known as the triforium, a word which corresponds to the French *trifoire*, implying a piercing in a wall. Above this again was a third stage of arches, framing the windows of the clerestory, through which light was admitted to the upper part of the building and in front of which there was a continuous passage pierced through the wall. These three vertical divisions, the ground arcade, triforium and clerestory, are to be found in most of our large

cathedral and abbey churches during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The proportions between them differ considerably. At Durham the great arcades are as high as the triforium and clerestory together, while in the nave at Gloucester the triforium is insignificant in comparison with the arcades. In the great East Anglian churches, on the other hand, Norwich, Ely and Peterborough, the triforium and ground arcades are practically equal in height, while the clerestory is lower in proportion. The transepts, as has been said, had one or more chapels or an aisle upon their eastern side. In some churches, as Ely and Winchester, following a Norman custom, the eastern aisle was continued in front of the end wall of the transept with a gallery above; and in both these churches there was a western aisle as well.

§ 11. In these great buildings there was always a problem to be considered, the question of the roof. The walls were thick and heavy enough to stand the strain of a barrel-vault of stone, i.e. a roof like that of a tunnel; while the aisles might have been roofed with half barrel-vaults. A barrel-vault, however, exercises its pressure continuously upon the walls which support it: it needs solid abutment at every point and therefore prevents the use of windows, which can only weaken the walls, beneath its springing. In order to give the windows proper room and height, a method was adopted by which two barrel-vaults crossing each other at right angles, with the unnecessary parts omitted, covered a rectangular space. By this means the weight and thrust of the stone roof were conveyed along the lines of intersection of the vaults to the four corners of the compartment and were taken off the

side-walls. At first these vaults were heavily and roughly constructed; but in process of time it became the custom, instead of building them in solid masses, to make arches diagonally across the compartment from corner to corner, a skeleton framework which could afterwards be filled up with stonework in each of the four divisions formed by the intersecting arches. It is now recognised that such arches or, as they are generally called, ribs, were designed for the vault of the presbytery at Durham before 1100, and completed in 1105.

§ 12. For purposes of vaulting, the most obvious method was to divide the roof into as many compartments or bays as there were arches upon the ground-floor. These compartments were separated by transverse arches spanning the space between each pier and the one opposite. The common springing-points of these arches and of the cross-ribs which intersected each other in the middle of the compartment were the upper parts of the walls above the piers: that is to say, the weight or thrust of the vault was concentrated at a series of points occurring at equal intervals in the side walls and corresponding to the piers of the main arcades. Each compartment was oblong in shape, its breadth from north to south being, roughly speaking, double its length from east to west. To cover it with a vault built upon a framework of semicircular arches was impracticable, as the cross-ribs, having to cover a wider space than the transverse arches, would rise much higher; while the semicircle of the vault at the sides above the clerestory windows would be lower than the transverse arches, as it covered only half their span. This could be avoided and the surface of the vault made level by designing the arches as segments

of different circles. This system, however, involved difficulties to which the builders of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries were unready to commit themselves. In vaulting the aisles, where each compartment was nearly square, the difficulty of planning the ribs was much less. At Ely, Peterborough and St. Albans, for example, the aisles of the great naves were vaulted, but the naves themselves were covered with wooden ceilings; and at Norwich, where the aisles again were vaulted, none of the high vaults of the church, covering chancel, transept and nave, were added before the middle of the fifteenth century.

§ 13. The original vault of the presbytery at Durham was entirely rebuilt in the thirteenth century, but the rest of the church is covered by twelfth-century stone vaults, which show the progress of the builders in this essential department of their art. The employment of the cross-rib was the result of a system which had taken the weight of the vault off the side walls as a whole and confined it to certain points in those walls. The next step was to obtain a level crown for the vault by simplifying the shape of the ribs. To treat them all as semicircles was impossible: to treat them as segments of different circles was a complicated proceeding. In the nave of Durham, where the vault was probably completed by 1133, the cross-ribs are semicircles, but the transverse arches are brought up to their level by being constructed, not as rounded, but as pointed arches. The height of a rounded arch is always limited by the span which it has to cover: if it is a regular semicircle, it must be drawn from a centre in the middle of the span between its springing-points; in any case, a centre has to be found for it

either above or below the middle of the line between those points. If above, the arch has to be stilted, i.e. the lower parts of its sides have to be built vertically. If below, it forms a wide segment, which exercises a strong outward thrust on the walls. A pointed arch, on the other hand, consists of two segments of intersecting circles, the centres of which can be adapted to the height required without the hindrance of the limitations imposed by questions of span.

It cannot be affirmed too strongly that the general adoption of the pointed in place of the round arch was the result of its practical convenience in vaulting. Many fanciful explanations of its origin are to be found, but this is the only one which really accounts for it. Romanesque builders, following Roman practice, had used the round arch so much that it is regarded as the most obvious distinguishing feature of their work; but the pointed arch was not unknown to them, and, faced with the problem of the stone roof, they were forced to resort to it. Not merely did its use simplify the question of the varying height of the ribs of the vault. It exercised less outward thrust on the walls than the round arch, while the weight of masonry which was borne by the crown of the round arch and often caused it to split at the shoulders was removed.

§ 14. The pressure exercised by the vault upon the points of support in the walls is of two kinds. The vertical pressure is exercised upon the wall immediately below the springing of the ribs, the point at which the weight is collected. This is emphasised by the shafts which project internally from the wall and carry the lower parts of the ribs upon their capitals. Sometimes these shafts rise from the floor itself, sometimes from

corbels or brackets at a higher level, which became the general English custom. But the outward thrust is greater and has to be met by the strengthening of the masonry against which it is exercised. Even in a church with very thick walls like Durham, where the vaults spring from the level of the clerestory floor, the masonry needed to be reinforced by abutments. These were supplied by arches thrown across the triforium passage, between the vaults of the aisles and the wooden roofs above. In the presbytery of Durham these are complete arches, which meet thrust with counter-thrust. In the nave they are half-arches which convey the thrust to the outer walls of the aisles, and these, in their turn, were strengthened to meet the thrust by flat pilaster buttresses, forming slight projections and marking the divisions between the bays.

We have laid stress upon these points because they form the necessary groundwork of any understanding of the development of medieval architecture, which is an affair of construction, not of pretty and picturesque ornament. The employment of the cross-rib led to the adoption of the pointed arch: the vault thus formed needed outward support or abutment, and so we come to the development of the buttress-system. When we have arrived at this point, one general fact will become clear. The ribs of the vault with the system of support provided by piers and buttresses will form the structural skeleton of the building. The walls and roof form the filling-in of the gaps in the framework; and, while the framework itself is solid, this filling-in can be as light as is consistent with permanence.

§ 15. At Durham, where we see the principles of

Gothic construction emerging, their full logical consequences do not appear at once. The walls of the building are still thick and massive throughout: there is no attempt to lighten the construction of those parts which have less weight to bear. It was only slowly that English builders apprehended the change in the theory of construction which was involved in the cross-vault and its supports. Before the middle of the twelfth century it was grasped by the builders of the Île-de-France; but it was not until the last quarter of the century that English Romanesque work took the line of distinct development into Gothic. In the eastern arm of Canterbury, begun after the fire of 1174, there is a general lightening of the work. The piers are slender when compared with the huge piers of Durham: the vaulting-ribs which spring from the masonry above them are slight in comparison with the thick ribs of the earlier period, and the transverse arches, instead of being twice as thick as the cross-ribs, are merely ribs of similar section. Light construction with ashlar or dressed stone has, in fact, taken the place of the old method, familiar from Roman times, by which ashlar was merely the casing of a core of rubble. At Canterbury, it is true, the development is not complete. The difficulty of vaulting wide oblong spaces was still felt, and, in order to avoid it, two of the oblong bays of the ground-floor were taken together to form a single square bay of the vault, which is bisected by an intermediate transverse rib. This form of vaulting, known as sexpartite, because the cross-ribs and extra transverse rib divide each bay into six parts, was occasionally employed in early Gothic churches in France, but rarely in England: from the beginning

of the thirteenth century the quadripartite vault over an oblong space was general. At Canterbury, again, the springing-point of the vaulting is low: the abutting arches, as at Durham, are carried below the triforium roof, and the external buttressing is as yet timid, compared with the bold projections of a later date.

§ 16. Increased lightness of construction means economy of material; and further, it is obvious that the parts of the building which are the mere filling-in between the necessary points of support can be constructed independently of each other. They are relieved of the weight of the stone roof, which falls upon the system of piers and buttresses: their surface therefore can be freely pierced with window-openings, which in a northern climate are very necessary for the sake of light. Thus the amount of solid wall surface gradually diminishes. The small round-headed windows of the century after the Conquest gave way to longer and wider lancet openings. The lancets, characteristic of the first half of the thirteenth century, were grouped in twos and threes in each bay: in the principal fronts of churches, as in the east end of Ely, they were arranged in tiers. Gradually, the spaces of wall which divided them were thinned down until each lancet became a light of one great window-opening filling the space between buttress and buttress. The head of the opening, beneath the enclosing arch, was filled with tracery, at first arranged in formal geometrical patterns, then developing into freely curving forms. Finally, about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the freedom of window-tracery reached its height, the curving tendency was checked: the lines of the tracery

were straightened out, and the window-opening became a framework of slender bars enclosing a number of rectangular panels in which the worker in stained glass had the fullest opportunity for his skill.

§ 17. The progress of window-tracery through what have been styled, for the sake of convenience in classification, the Early English or Lancet, the Decorated, and the Perpendicular or Rectilinear periods was accompanied by a corresponding change in the character of structural ornament. The heavy arch-mouldings and sculpture in flat relief of the early twelfth century were superseded by delicate mouldings divided by deep hollows, and by deeply undercut foliage and figure-sculpture. The forms adopted were conventional, suggested by rather than closely imitated from natural objects: they were guided by the character of the material employed and grew naturally, so to speak, out of the general constructive design. After the middle of the thirteenth century, the contrast between light and shade which was produced by the undercutting of every detail ceased. Mouldings were arranged in groups of convex forms divided by shallower hollows: sculpture showed a tendency to become more superficial and at the same time more elaborate. The first half of the fourteenth century was a period of extraordinary beauty in sculpture; but the ornament, instead of growing out of the construction, was more and more applied to it and showed an increasing effort to compel the material into the imitation of natural forms. Just as the curvilinear window-tracery, about 1350, reached its furthest limits and thenceforward became formalised, so mouldings became a succession of shallow curves, and sculpture, though used with profusion, became

merely conventional ornament, following stereotyped patterns and applied superficially.

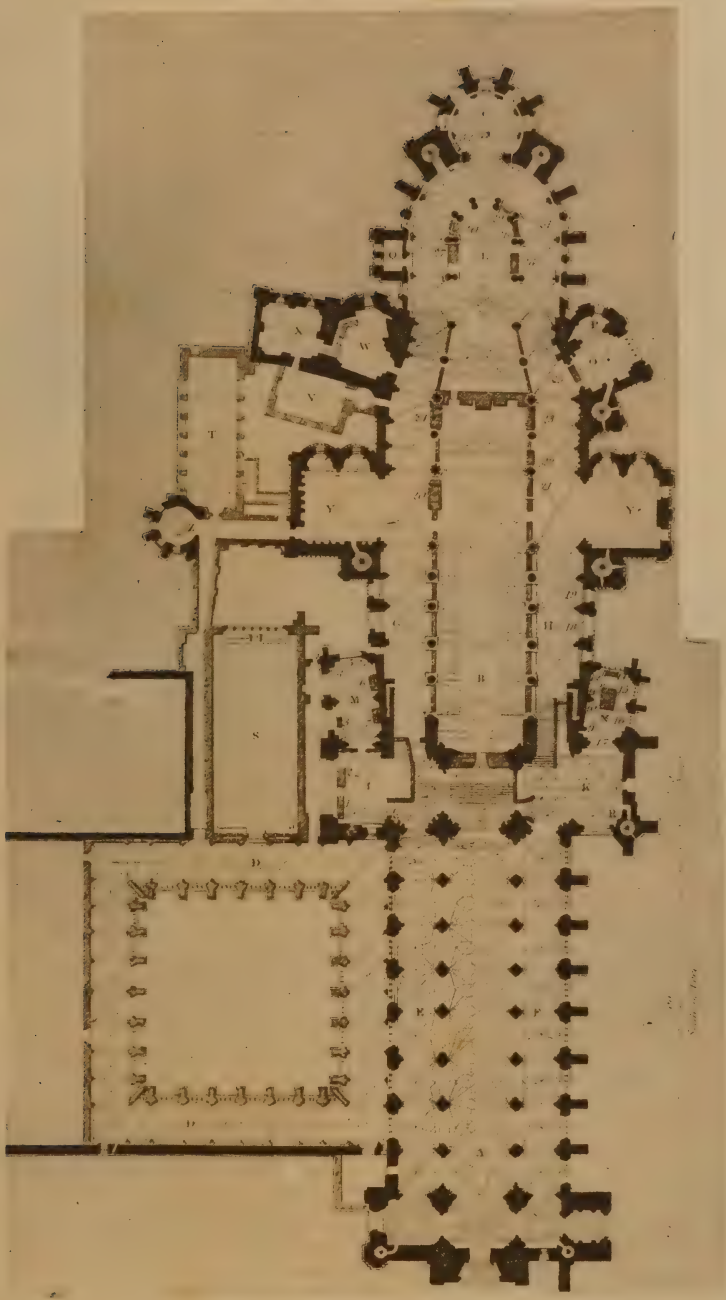
§ 18. Although this is not a manual of architecture, it is necessary to dwell upon these general points. We cannot understand our cathedral churches without knowing the general principles of their construction; and those general principles are the governing element which controls their details. When once the principle of the stone vault and its supports was thoroughly apprehended, the massive Romanesque style gave way to the lighter Gothic. The whole progress of Gothic, from the end of the twelfth century to the beginning of the sixteenth, depended upon the logical use of the liberty afforded by the concentration of the weight of the roof upon the structural skeleton of ribs, piers and buttresses. The outward emphasis given to this framework became more and more marked. The buttresses projected boldly at right angles to the aisle walls: the abutting arches which connected them with the high vaults were raised above the triforium roof and became a visible stone scaffolding of flying buttresses built against the clerestory walls; and the aisle buttresses, where they received the thrust thus communicated, were kept in equilibrium by lofty pinnacles which supplied a vertical pressure to check the outward thrust. Meanwhile, the walls between the members of the framework were reduced to a minimum until, as in the presbytery and Lady chapel of Gloucester, they became practically walls of glass held together by thin bars of stone. In England, stone-vaulted buildings were the exception: most Gothic buildings, even portions of many of the largest, were content with wooden roofs; but in all, the development which owed

its origin to the stone vault kept pace with that of the stone-roofed church, and the buttresses, window-openings and carvings of the humblest parish church followed the same line of progress.

§ 19. From these general remarks we may turn to particular instances. It may be noted that, even in Romanesque churches which otherwise were little altered, advantage was taken of the increased opportunities for light afforded by Gothic construction. The work at Peterborough advanced from east to west between 1117 and 1190 without any radical alteration in the Romanesque method of construction employed. Early in the thirteenth century the great triple portico which forms the west front was added, practically a separate building without relation to the plan of the nave behind it. After this date the only important additions to the church were the Lady chapel, now destroyed, on the east side of the north transept, and the "new building," a range of chapels added at the east end about 1500. Nevertheless, about the close of the thirteenth century, when the Lady chapel was built and square chapels were substituted for the apses at the ends of the aisles, the heavy walls throughout the church were lightened. The round-headed windows of the aisles were removed, and wide traceried windows were opened out, filling the whole breadth of the spaces between the flat pilaster buttresses. The triforium roofs were raised and the walls at the back heightened and pierced with large windows; and traceried windows were inserted in the upper stages of the great apse. Thus, by merely taking away masonry which, from a constructive point of view, was superfluous, a flood of light was admitted into a church which previously had

been dark and gloomy, and the principles of Gothic pier-and-buttress construction were utilised to change the character of a building which is a cardinal instance of the Romanesque method of construction with walls of uniform thickness.

§ 20. Norwich, again, is an example of a Romanesque monastic cathedral church which received few additions. The only important alteration of the ground-plan was the removal, in the thirteenth century, of the eastern chapel of the apse to make way for a large square-ended Lady chapel which was destroyed after the Reformation. The triforium, as time went on, was lightened, as at Peterborough and also at Ely, by the insertion of large windows in heightened walls; and after 1361 a new clerestory, with lofty traceried windows, was added to the chancel. The influence, however, of developed Gothic principles is seen in the gradual addition of high vaults, of a late and elaborate character, to the church. The nave was vaulted in the second half of the fifteenth century, as part of the work which included the great west window, the money for which was bequeathed in 1445 by William Alnwick, bishop of Lincoln, who had been bishop of Norwich from 1426 to 1436. Towards the end of the same century, an equally magnificent vault was added to the chancel, and the transept vaults were constructed after 1500. The vault of the chancel, springing from a point level with the springing of the arches of the clerestory windows, produces a fine effect of height internally; and the range of flying buttresses which take its thrust outside, with the tall windows occupying the whole wall-space between them, forms an instructive contrast to the mass of Romanesque masonry below, a solid



PLAN OF CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL *Plate viii.*
(from Willis' "Architectural History.")

ELY CATHEDRAL, BY T. M. ROOKE, R.W.S. *Plate IX.*

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wall in which windows are mere incidents and from which buttresses are merely slight projections.

§ 21. Few great churches, however, suffered so little change as Norwich and Peterborough. In many cases, as time went on, the short eastern arm of the Romanesque plan, with the high altar in the eastern apse and only three or four bays between it and the tower, became insufficient for the number of altars required. In the Gothic churches of France, during the great building epoch of the thirteenth century, the short chancel was generally the fashion, the necessary altars being provided by a ring of many chapels opening out of the encircling aisle of the apse. In England, on the other hand, the eastern arm was often lengthened until it was virtually equal in length to the nave. The choir, as we have seen, in early churches was placed below the tower and in the nave. At Canterbury in 1130 it was placed in the eastern arm, which was built above a vast crypt. This, "the glorious choir of Conrad," extending far east of the site of the apse of Lanfranc's church, ended in an apse, round which ran an aisle or ambulatory with three projecting chapels. Four additional chapels, however, were provided by building an eastern transept which crossed the new chancel between the high altar and the choir. When, after the fire of 1174, the eastern arm was rebuilt, the new plan was dictated by the old, and the form of the new apse was modified by the fact that the two projecting chapels which rose into towers on the sides of the older apse were left standing. The apse, however, was built at some distance to the east of its predecessor, so as to give room for a great chapel at the back of the high altar, and a further apsidal chapel was

built east of the broad new ambulatory which surrounded this.

§ 22. The object of the chapel behind the high altar was to contain the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose tomb within a few years of his death had become a favourite place of pilgrimage. In early churches where saints were buried, their tombs were generally placed in a crypt beneath the high altar. A crypt, whether it contained a shrine or not, was a favourite feature of Romanesque churches: Norman builders, for example, at Canterbury, Gloucester, Winchester and Worcester raised the eastern arms of their churches upon crypts, which were lower churches, containing chapels and altars; and the rebuilding at Canterbury after 1174 included a corresponding enlargement of the crypt. By this time, however, it had become the custom, where the remains of a saint were venerated, to place his shrine behind the high altar. This naturally led to an extension of the building at this end, the cost of which was met by the offerings made at the shrine. In this respect, Canterbury set the example. The cathedral church became a vast temple, the culminating point of which, beyond the choir and altar and the flights of stairs by which pilgrims ascended and descended to and from the holy place, was the chapel of the saint.

§ 23. During the thirteenth century most of the great Benedictine churches of which we are speaking were enlarged for this reason. The new work was begun to the east of the existing chancel, and the old work was not removed until the extension was ready for use, so as not to interfere with the services. At Winchester, where the shrine of St. Swithun stood at

the back of the high altar, the enlargement was taken in hand about 1202. Some change in design took place in the course of building, and the result, as we see it, was probably not achieved till 1220–30. Here the altar had been surrounded by an ambulatory, on the east side of which was a long apsidal chapel. The chancel-aisles were prolonged on each side of this chapel, the area of which was thrown into the new building, and a new aisleless chapel with a square end was built to the east. The high roof of the chancel was not extended eastwards, and the new work may be described as an extension of the aisles, in which a chapel with a rectangular ambulatory was substituted for the encircling aisle and lengthened by the new eastern chapel.

§ 24. At Worcester, on the other hand, where the object of veneration was the shrine of St. Wulfstan, the new eastern building, dedicated in 1218, was the beginning of an entire rebuilding of the eastern arm, and a new choir was begun in 1224. Here the high vault is continued through the whole length from east to west: an eastern transept was built in a line with the high altar, and the easternmost chapel projects a bay beyond the aisles. Very much the same plan was employed at Rochester between 1200 and 1227, where the eastern transept, the northern part of which contained the shrine of St. William of Perth, had an eastern aisle of chapels, and the easternmost chapel had a projection of two bays. The whole building was raised upon a pillared crypt; while at Worcester the Romanesque crypt was left without enlargement.

§ 25. The lengthening at Durham, begun in 1242, consisted of the removal of the eastern apses to make way for an eastern transept, which gave a T-shaped

plan to the end of the church. In the middle of this, to the west and behind the high altar, was the platform for the shrine of St. Cuthbert; while against the east wall were nine altars, each dedicated to two saints. This "chapel of the nine altars" was probably suggested by the somewhat earlier transeptal chapel built at the east end of the abbey church of Fountains. The high vault of the presbytery and choir was reconstructed about the same time, but, beyond the destruction of the apses, the work begun in 1093 was left standing.

§ 26. The cathedral church of Ely, famous for the shrine of St. Audrey, was originally similar in plan to Durham. Here, between 1235 and 1252, the apses were taken down. Four bays of the presbytery which had been begun in 1083 were left and continued eastward by six new bays, aisled throughout their length. The whole eastern arm thus became an aisled rectangle. For richness and delicacy of detail this work is the crowning example of thirteenth-century architecture in England. When in 1322 the tower above the crossing of the transepts fell and injured the remaining Romanesque work in its falling, its place was taken by the famous lantern and octagon, and a new choir of three bays was built. No more striking contrast between Romanesque and Gothic construction can be found than that between the nave and transept of Ely, with their solid walls and tiers of round arches, and the eastern arm and octagon, in which the increasing economy of stonework and the consequent gain in lightness and gracefulness are fully exemplified.

§ 27. During the second half of the thirteenth century the churches of Chester and St. Albans, where the local shrines were those of St. Werburga and St.

Alban, were lengthened. At St. Albans the method pursued was somewhat similar to that at Winchester: the aisles were continued as a rectangular ambulatory round the shrine-chapel at the back of the high altar, and a Lady chapel was built out beyond. This work was not finished until 1326. At Chester the whole eastern arm was rebuilt, with a chapel, the roof-level of which corresponded to that of the aisles, behind the high altar.

§ 28. It will be seen that, as at Durham, this process of enlargement, while it was primarily intended to give special honour to the shrine of a saint, also afforded space for many more chapels and altars. Thus the apse of Westminster abbey, begun in 1245 for the shrine of St. Edward the Confessor, was girt about, like a French church, by a ring of chapels which opened out of the ambulatory. It is a common custom to speak of the part of a church behind the high altar as the Lady chapel, and it is true that, after the beginning of the thirteenth century, when a growing devotion to the Blessed Virgin prompted the building of special chapels in her honour, such chapels were often placed at the east end of the church. The eastern chapels at Winchester, St. Albans, Norwich and Chester were Lady chapels. But this was by no means always the case. At Canterbury the easternmost altar was dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and the Lady chapel was in the north aisle of the nave until the middle of the fifteenth century, when a new Lady chapel was built east of the north transept. At Durham the Lady chapel was the building known as the Galilee, added to the west end of the church about 1175. At Peterborough and Ely the Lady chapels were large structures

entered from the north transept: that at Ely, begun in 1321, is really a separate church, a vast aisleless building remarkable for the beauty of the sculptured arcading of its walls. Again where, as at Worcester, the principal dedication of the church was to our Lady, the high altar was her altar. In practice, her daily mass was sometimes sung at another altar in the church, and, in the later middle ages, altars in her honour were sometimes multiplied; but in such churches there was no need of a special Lady chapel, nor, in any case, was its position fixed in one particular part of the church.

§ 29. Perhaps the most remarkable transformation of the eastern arm of a great church was that which took place at Gloucester in the fourteenth century. Here the presbytery, dedicated in 1100 and built upon a great crypt, was surrounded by an ambulatory which gave access to three apsidal chapels. After Edward II had been buried there in 1327, the offerings of pilgrims to his tomb were applied to a reconstruction begun in 1337 by the remodelling of the south transept, and continued in the presbytery. The aisles and the two lateral chapels of the ambulatory were left much as they were; but in the main area the Romanesque work was cut away and refaced by what is virtually a screen of traceried stone. A new clerestory was built and covered by an elaborate stone vault, the constructive ribs of which are almost hidden by a multitude of small liernes or tie-ribs nearly covering the surface; while the apsidal termination was removed, and an enormous window, filling the whole of the east wall above the altar, put in its place. Much later, from 1457 to 1498, a new Lady chapel was built at the east end beyond the ambulatory; and in this the

Gothic ideal of a wall of glass was fully realised. This bold transformation of a Romanesque presbytery has a special architectural interest; for here, between 1337 and 1350, we have the first complete example of a building undertaken in the formal "rectilinear" style characteristic of the latest period of Gothic. Free curving tracery and naturalistic ornament were abandoned for a system of rectangular panelling and conventional applied decoration. There are certain buildings, somewhat earlier in date, which point towards this change in style; but at Gloucester the change was effected thoroughly, while, in the rest of England, builders were still working in the style which had reached its full development early in the fourteenth century. The introduction of the "Perpendicular" style has often been attributed to the decline in artistic invention which followed the great pestilence of 1349 and was doubtless furthered by the only less severe pestilence of 1361–2. No doubt, this was a factor in the change; but it must be remembered that, when the Black Death came, the design of the builders of Gloucester was nearly complete, and it would be absurd to argue that this splendid and original conception shows any decline in artistic vigour.

§ 30. Not long after the beginning of work at Gloucester, the transformation of the great church at Winchester was begun. We have seen that this building had been lengthened eastwards in the thirteenth century. Otherwise, the Romanesque church of the eleventh century (1079–93), from the high altar to the west front, remained practically untouched. The transept still shows us its general scheme: the design was very like that of the nave and transept at Ely, and it may

be noted that the bishop of Winchester and the abbot of Ely in whose time work was started upon the two churches were brothers. Between 1345 and 1366, during the episcopacy of bishop Edington, the presbytery appears to have been rebuilt, light arcades taking the place of the earlier work. The remodelling of the nave was also begun at the west end and was continued by Edington's successor, William of Wykeham, who, in his will, made in 1403, left 2,500 marks for the continuation of the work "from the west gate, or entrance of the choir of the said church, backwards to the west end of the said church." The Romanesque masonry was left to form the core of the new work, which amounted to an entire recasing of the building in the new style. At Gloucester, in the aisles and triforium, we can still see the Romanesque pillars and arches which are concealed from view on the side of the choir and chancel. At Winchester the alteration was more thorough: the old work was left untouched only above the vault and where the choir-screen crossed the main area. Late in the fifteenth century, the chapels at the east end of the church were altered, and early in the next century, the presbytery was covered with a wooden ceiling in imitation of a stone vault, and a new clerestory was made. During all these changes, extending over a long period, the Romanesque transept and the low tower above the crossing were left.

§ 31. During the earlier period of the alterations at Winchester, the nave at Canterbury was rebuilt between 1379 and 1400, and subsequently much work was done in the transepts. A rebuilding of the nave at Worcester was begun early in the fourteenth century and finished with the completion of the vault about

1377; but here the two western bays of the twelfth-century nave were left standing. The present nave of Chester, again, belongs to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Here the Romanesque north transept was retained; but, in the fourteenth century, a south transept with east and west aisles, no less than four bays long, was built. This magnificent feature, quite out of all proportion to the rest of the church, forms a curious contrast to the short aisleless north transept with its rude and severe detail. At Gloucester the greater part of the early nave remains, with alterations and additions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; but the west front was entirely rebuilt, together with the two western bays of the nave, between 1421 and 1437. A nave which retains much of its early Romanesque work is that of St. Albans, a large portion of which was rebuilt in the thirteenth century. The church of the cathedral priory of Bath, on the other hand, is a grand reconstruction, on a simple cruciform plan, undertaken at the close of the fifteenth century, and covered throughout with fan-vaulting.

§ 32. In these Benedictine churches, the tower was above the crossing of the transepts. Seven out of the twelve have single towers in this position, and of these St. Albans, Winchester and Norwich have towers of the twelfth century. The tall spire at Norwich is a later addition. The tower of Worcester formed part of the general rebuilding of the western part of the church in the fourteenth century. To the next century belong that of Chester and the noble tower of Gloucester. The twelfth-century tower of Rochester was rebuilt in 1749: this was superseded by another between 1825 and 1830, and this again has given place within

recent years to a third. At Ely the tower which fell in 1322 was reconstructed upon entirely new lines as an octagonal lantern; but the splendid west tower, begun late in the twelfth century and heightened in the fifteenth by an octagonal upper stage, remains flanked by transepts, of which the northern one has been destroyed. The nave at Peterborough also ended in a western transept, which was covered by the three open arches of the thirteenth-century west front. It is evident that the nave, as originally planned, was intended to terminate with two western towers over the ends of the aisles, but was lengthened with the addition of the transept as an after-thought. Towards the middle of the thirteenth century a tower was built over the northern arm of the transept, and another begun, but not finished on the south side. The principal tower over the crossing was rebuilt in the fourteenth century. If the towers at Peterborough have not the majesty of Ely, the grouping of the low middle tower with the north-western tower and the slender-spired pinnacles of the western front forms one of the most picturesque effects to be found in any English cathedral church. Durham was also planned with two western towers over the aisles, which were finished in the thirteenth century: the lofty tower over the crossing was built in the fifteenth century. The three towers at Canterbury belong to the latest period of the church, and the central tower, which even surpasses that of Gloucester in grace and dignity, was not finished till 1503. The central tower of Bath is still later.

§ 33. Of the four cathedral churches which originally belonged to Austin canons, Oxford alone preserves its early plan of the later part of the twelfth century. In

this plan, frequently used in churches of canons regular, the presbytery is aisled in four bays, with a projecting aisleless bay at the east end. The feature of Oxford is the enlargement of the church by the construction of the two chapels of the north transept as additional aisles equal in length to the north aisle of the presbytery: of these, the inner aisle was the Lady chapel and the outer, now called the Latin chapel, contained the shrine of St. Frideswide. Enlargement on the south side was prevented by the existence of the cloister buildings. When Wolsey converted the church into the chapel of his college, the western bays of the nave were taken down, so that Oxford, which does double duty as the cathedral church of the diocese and the chapel of a college, is the smallest of the churches which were cathedrals before the nineteenth century.

§ 34. At Bristol the masonry of the south transept, on the side next the cloister, is still largely that of the twelfth-century church. In the thirteenth century a long Lady chapel, with singularly beautiful internal detail, was built east of the north transept. The choir and chancel, following the plan already indicated at Oxford, with two projecting aisleless eastern bays, were entirely rebuilt early in the fourteenth century. An original and unique design was used: the aisles were made equal in height to the main area, the vault of which is abutted by internal arches crossing the aisles below the roof. While the long windows of the aisles gave plenty of light to the church, there can be no doubt that the effect produced is more curious than happy, and the vault, to lessen its outward thrust, is brought steeply down upon the capitals of the piers, so that the dignity of height is sacrificed. The nave,

which had been long destroyed, was rebuilt in modern times on the lines of the eastern arm.

§ 35. Only a small and interesting portion of the Romanesque nave of Carlisle is left, with a certain amount of the work of the transept. The thirteenth-century chancel was largely destroyed during an invasion of the Scots in 1296. In the reconstruction which followed much of the thirteenth-century work was retained, the walls being underpinned and new piers being built beneath them. The aisles in this case, as at Ely, were continued to the full length of the chancel, the great east window of which is one of the finest examples of the curvilinear tracery of the early fourteenth century. It is to be noted that, in the rebuilding of the eastern arm before the destruction of 1296, it was considerably widened. Owing to the neighbourhood of the monastery buildings, no widening on the south side could be undertaken. The church therefore had to be extended towards the north, with the result that the middle line or axis of the chancel is much to the north of that of the nave, and the north arcade stands just within the line of the outer north wall of the Romanesque church.

§ 36. The cathedral church of Southwark, formerly the priory church of St. Mary Overy, has an early thirteenth-century chancel and transept. The chancel aisles are here continued round the east end in the form of a spacious eastern chapel without further projections. The design may possibly have been suggested by the eastern extension of Winchester, the diocesan cathedral church: the bishops of Winchester were patrons of the priory and had a house within its precincts. Here, as at Bristol, the nave is a modern rebuilding.

§ 37. In all these four instances, the churches appear to have been planned for single towers at the crossing: the two western towers at Bristol are entirely modern. The crossing-towers at Bristol and Carlisle are of the fifteenth century: that at Southwark is a thirteenth-century tower which was heightened later. The tower and spire at Oxford are of one design, very early in the thirteenth century and of a type to be found in some of the neighbouring churches.

(II) CHURCHES OF SECULAR CANONS

§ 38. Nine of the medieval cathedral churches of England were served by secular canons, viz. Chichester, Exeter, Hereford, Lichfield, Lincoln, St. Paul's, Salisbury, Wells and York. To these may be added the three great secular minsters of the diocese of York, Beverley, Ripon and Southwell, which served as the cathedral churches of the more remote parts of the diocese, and two of which are to-day diocesan cathedrals. St. John's at Chester was also the third cathedral church of the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, until the separate diocese of Chester was formed with the abbey church of St. Werburgh as its centre. The four Welsh cathedrals were also secular. Manchester, the cathedral of a modern diocese, was in the later middle ages a collegiate church served by a body of chantry-priests; but this type of collegiate body differed considerably in constitution from the ordinary cathedral chapter of canons, and Manchester belongs strictly to the class of parish churches which have attained cathedral rank.

§ 39. The laws of construction and the principles

of enlargement which have been explained in connection with the monastic cathedrals apply equally to the secular churches. During the century after the Norman Conquest monastic influence was predominant. Only a few secular cathedrals, Old St. Paul's in particular, could compare in size with such buildings as Ely, Norwich, Peterborough and St. Albans. The early secular chapters consisted of only a few canons: great chapters of fifty members or more, such as those of Lincoln, Salisbury and Wells, grew with the increase in the estates of the several churches, and did not reach their full numbers until the thirteenth century or even later. We find therefore, as a general rule, that secular churches were subject to a more thorough process of rebuilding and enlargement than the churches of monasteries.

It may be said generally that the Romanesque secular cathedrals followed the ordinary Norman plan with three eastern apses which has been mentioned in connection with Durham and Peterborough. There are exceptional cases, as at Hereford and Llandaff, where the east end is said to have been rectangular, with a single chapel projecting behind the high altar; and Southwell is a somewhat doubtful instance of a rectangular end taking the place of the principal apse. Chichester appears to have had an apse with ambulatory and projecting chapels. The chancel, as usual, was short in proportion to the length of the nave. At Chichester and Hereford, for instance, where most of the Romanesque churches is left, the chancel had three straight bays, the nave eight, with the tower between. Excavations at Lincoln, however, show that the nave had eleven bays as compared with the three

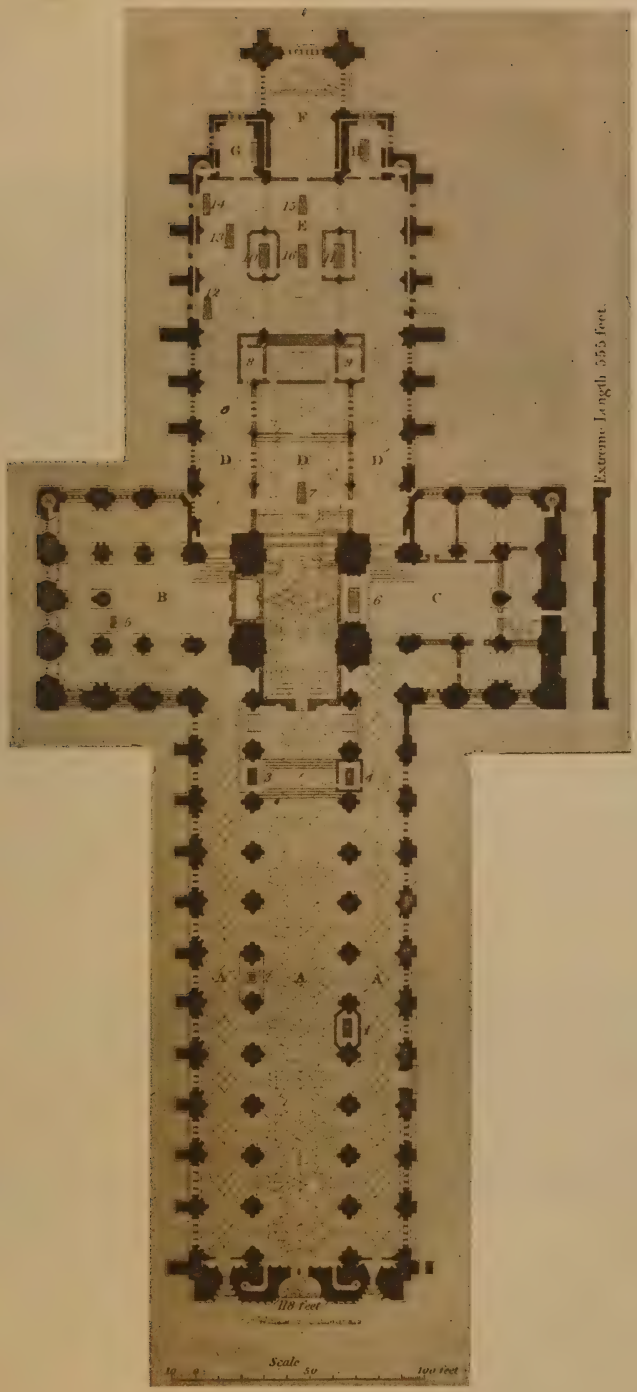
bays of the chancel west of the apse; and here the great triple portal of the west front with portions of the western bay of the nave, which received a stone vault about the middle of the twelfth century, are left amid later additions. The nave of the beautiful church of St. Davids, begun about 1180 and exhibiting strong signs of the transition to Gothic, although the construction is still heavy, has six wide bays. The rebuilding of the chancel followed, with four bays and a rectangular east end, in which, though Romanesque ornament was still used in profusion, pointed arches were substituted for the round arches of the nave.

§ 40. St. Davids is an example of a late twelfth-century rebuilding in a remote part of the kingdom, where the massive Romanesque wall-construction, although its detail is lightened, still forms the guiding principle of the building. At Chichester, on the other hand, within reach of the chief centres of Gothic development, the eastward extension of the church towards the close of the twelfth century shows a thorough apprehension of the lighter type of construction, under the evident influence of Canterbury. One may contrast the work here, which included the vaulting of the whole church, with the transept and nave of Wells, the fruit of a rebuilding begun about 1175 and continued westwards well into the thirteenth century. This shows a remarkable forwardness in the use of pure Gothic forms and ornament: the sculptured capitals, in particular, are unsurpassed in variety and beauty. The masonry, however, in proportion to the openings is as solid as that of St. Davids; and it was not until the west front, which forms a screen-wall to the church behind, was reached, that the builders adopted a form

of construction guided by lightness and economy of material.

§ 41. As has been said, Chichester is an instance, unique among the greater secular churches, of a plan in which, as at Norwich, Gloucester, and the second Norman church of Canterbury, the apse was encircled by an aisle with three projecting chapels. The middle chapel of these three was the Lady chapel. After a great fire in 1186–7, which affected the whole church, the apse was taken down and a rectangular east end substituted, which included within it the area of the ambulatory, while the projecting chapels on each side were removed and the ends of the aisles squared. We thus get a plan in which the chancel becomes an aisled rectangle, with the Lady chapel projecting to the east. This differs from the plan of Winchester, where there is a long aisled chapel forming an ambulatory between the high wall behind the altar and the Lady chapel to the east; but at Chichester the high altar stands two bays west of the entrance to the Lady chapel, and so the ambulatory behind the altar falls within, and not outside the high east wall. Subsequently the aisles were lengthened into small chapels flanking the west bay of the Lady chapel, and a hundred years later the Lady chapel itself was extended two bays eastwards.

§ 42. The plan of the eastern arm of Exeter, rebuilt about the same period, probably resembled that of Chichester very closely; and, in the secular cathedrals of the south and west of England, the plan with the rectangular east end and projecting eastern chapel was habitually followed. In every case, however, after the beginning of the thirteenth century, the aisles are joined by a transverse aisle or ambulatory behind the east



PLAN OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. *Plate*

WELLS CATHEDRAL. *Plate xi.*
The Nave.

wall and between it and the eastern chapel. This is what we have seen in the monastic church at Winchester, where the aisles were lengthened three bays beyond the east end of the main church, and consequently the middle part of the extension is also three bays from east to west. In other churches there are only two of these bays, at Exeter, Hereford and Llandaff only one; but the side-aisles are generally prolonged east of the entrance to the middle chapel, to form small lateral chapels. This is the case, for example, in the simple plan of Llandaff, the eastern termination of which was completed in the later part of the thirteenth century.

§ 43. Of St. Osmund's cathedral church upon the hill of Old Sarum nothing is left but foundations, which show that the early apsidal church was converted late in the twelfth century into an aisled rectangle, something like archbishop Roger's church at York, to which reference will be made later on. In 1220 the new cathedral at Salisbury, a church of first-class size, was begun. The whole building, from east to west, with the exception of the tower and spire, was finished in about fifty years and is a uniform example of thirteenth-century architecture at its purest. The chancel and choir, from the east wall above the altar to the tower, are seven bays long, and are crossed by a wide transept, the eastern part of which was divided into chapels. The aisles, ending in chapels, are continued two bays beyond the high altar, with an ambulatory from which opens eastward the so-called Lady chapel, where the Lady mass was sung daily at the altar of the Holy Trinity. The great transept, north and south of the tower, extends three bays beyond the aisles on each

side, and each arm has an eastern aisle which flanks the west bay of the choir and was divided into three chapels. West of the tower is the nave, ten bays in length, the north porch, the ordinary entrance to the church, being placed at the sixth bay from the east. At Salisbury there was no great shrine of pilgrimage, such as was the cause of enlargement of most of the monastic churches; but the plan, with its two transepts, afforded room for at least thirteen altars in addition to the high altar. In a church of so great an area, further chapels could, of course, be formed by screening off other parts of the building. Late in the fifteenth century, the chancel aisles were lengthened as far as the east wall of the Lady chapel by the addition of the Hungerford and Beauchamp chantry chapels; but these were most unfortunately removed during the disastrous restoration of the cathedral begun by Wyatt in 1789, as they were considered to interfere with the uniformity of the whole design.

§ 44. Alterations at Hereford began about the end of the twelfth century. The aisles of the eastern arm, which had probably finished in apsidal chapels, were now joined by a transverse aisle behind the east wall of the church, out of which a new Lady chapel opened eastwards. This chapel was very much lengthened in the thirteenth century, when the present Lady chapel was made with its floor raised upon a crypt or vaulted undercroft. Subsequently, about 1300, the ends of the aisles were much enlarged by their reconstruction as a transept, the eastern aisle of which, on either side of the remaining bay of the twelfth-century Lady chapel, contained two altars in each arm. Here there was no shrine in the eastern part of the church; but, much about the

same time or rather earlier, the north transept of the church was entirely rebuilt with an eastern aisle, in which was placed the tomb of the sainted bishop Thomas Cantilupe, St. Thomas of Hereford, who died in 1282.

§ 45. We have seen that, late in the twelfth century, Exeter assumed a plan very like that of Chichester, in which the high altar was probably a bay west of its present position. The eastward extent of this plan is by no means certain, as it was obliterated by the rebuilding begun under bishop Quivil between 1280 and 1291. This included a new Lady chapel, three bays long, with chapels at the ends of the aisles opening into its western bay, and a transverse aisle connecting the aisles between the Lady chapel and the east wall of the chancel. The arms of the transept, forming the lowest story of the two Romanesque towers of the church, were also vaulted and large traceried windows pierced in their walls. The rebuilding of the choir and chancel, seven bays in length, was completed between 1291 and 1326 : the new work was ingeniously fitted to the lines of the building which it superseded, and two thirteenth-century chapels which had been built out from the aisles transept-wise were left unaltered. Work was probably begun upon the nave before the death of bishop Stapeldon in 1326 ; but the greater part of the seven bays of the nave was constructed in the time of his successor, John Grandisson or Graunson, and finished shortly after the middle of the fourteenth century.

With the exception of the west front of the church and the east window, the first of which was completed and the second inserted some thirty years or so after the main body of the building, and of a few small

chapels built at a later date, Exeter is as perfect an example of the characteristic architecture of the early fourteenth century as Salisbury is of that of the early thirteenth. Internally, there is no lovelier building. The unbroken vault which runs from east to west at one level represents the perfection of Gothic vaulting before its structural lines were obscured by a multitude of tie-ribs converting it into a mass of traceried panels. The diamond-shaped piers of Purbeck marble, with their surfaces covered with a series of half-shafts, the wide traceried windows of the aisles and clerestory, and the corbels, sculptured with naturalistic foliage, from which the vaulting-shafts spring, combine to produce a general effect unexcelled in its age. The work was not merely a rebuilding: much of the old work was adapted to the new design. Careful study of the chancel arcades will show how the spacing of the arches and the design of the triforium were affected by the presence of older masonry. The transeptal towers were left without substantial alteration: the wall of the south aisle of the nave is that of the church as reconstructed before 1200. Further, throughout the building, a remarkable uniformity was preserved. As has been said, the work was begun with the Lady chapel before 1291, at a time when geometrical window-tracery had reached its height. As the builders proceeded westward, they adhered to geometrical forms and to the type of moulding and sculpture that accompanied them: such modifications as we find are of the slightest, and the general impression is that of an architectural whole conceived by one mind. Finally, the symmetry of the design is remarkable: although the tracery of the windows is used with great variety,

the opposite windows of each bay correspond exactly to one another, a feature which is found in no other church of the size.

§ 46. The enlargement of the eastern part of Wells is somewhat more complicated. We have seen that the church begun about 1175 was finished to the west front in the thirteenth century, and subsequent alterations to this were of a minor kind, such as the insertion of traceried windows in the aisles and clerestory. In the first quarter of the fourteenth century large works were undertaken, including the rebuilding of the central tower, the beautiful chapter-house on the north side of the choir, the chancel-aisles and the polygonal Lady chapel at the extreme east end. Some years elapsed before the remodelling of the chancel and its junction with the Lady chapel were achieved. When these came, they were affected by the danger which the weight of the new tower caused to the piers and the choir. The piers of the crossing were strengthened by the famous "inverted" arches built between them. East of the crossing, three bays of the twelfth-century arcade were left at the back of the choir-stalls, but above these the older work was recased and reconstructed, and three entirely new bays were built between this and the high altar. The ambulatory joining the aisles at the back of the high altar and connecting the Lady chapel with the new work was also made. Short transeptal chapels project from the aisle-walls in the second bay from the east: these belong to the early fourteenth-century setting-out of the plan, to which the position of the clustered shafts dividing the ambulatory into bays bears no relation. The architecture of the chancel, with its panelled vault, shows a distinct

advance towards the development exhibited at Gloucester, with the beginning of which its completion was probably nearly contemporary.

§ 47. In all these churches the low ambulatory opens into the chancel by one or more arches behind the high altar, at Exeter by two, at Salisbury and Wells by three. At St. Davids, however, when the Lady chapel was built about 1280, the east wall of the chancel was not altered. Here there had previously been no projecting eastern chapel. The aisles were extended two bays eastward with shallow chapels beyond and joined by a transverse aisle in front of the Lady chapel; but between this and the east wall was left an open court so as to admit light directly to the three tall lancets in the lower part of the east wall of the chancel. In the sixteenth century this court was roofed to form bishop Vaughan's chantry-chapel and was thrown open to the north and south aisles, thus blocking the lancet openings. After the Civil war, when the lead was stripped from the roofs, the eastern aisles and Lady chapel were allowed to fall into ruin and have been restored only within the last thirty years. The beautiful fan-vault of bishop Vaughan's chapel and the somewhat earlier vault of the ambulatory beyond were fortunately preserved.

§ 48. From these churches with low eastern ambulatories and projecting chapels we turn to the secular cathedrals of the midlands and north. The type of plan which we find here is that which was achieved in the monastic cathedral of Ely between 1235 and 1252, viz. a complete aisled rectangle in which the aisles run the whole length of the eastern arm and the ambulatory and easternmost altars are included beneath

the high vault. This form of lengthening obviously implies the entire destruction, not a mere squaring-out, of the old east end. The earliest example of this, begun almost contemporarily with the work at Ely, but not finished till much later, was Old St. Paul's, where the twelve Gothic bays of the eastern arm corresponded to the twelve Romanesque bays of the nave, the high altar being set between the fifth pair of piers from the east end. Here, as at Ely, there was no eastern transept to mark the division between choir and chancel: the plan was a simple cross, and the great transept with its aisle of eastern chapels and a western aisle as well projected for four bays on each side of the tower.

§ 49. Before Old St. Paul's, however, was finished, the whole church of Lincoln was rebuilt. The beginning of this work was the reconstruction of the chancel during the episcopate of St. Hugh before 1200. The Romanesque chancel with its three eastern apses was superseded by a choir of four bays. Beyond this the building was crossed by a transept, with two apsidal chapels projecting from each arm. The chancel, of very unusual shape, forming three sides of a polygon, was surrounded by a ring of apsidal chapels, of which the easternmost was polygonal. The choir and transept remain, showing curious irregularities of design, but presenting a singularly early example of mature Gothic construction, in which, and especially in the design of the eastern transept, it is possible to see the influence of Canterbury. During the early years of the thirteenth century the great transept was rebuilt with three bays in each arm and the usual eastern aisle of chapels. This was followed by the nave of seven wide bays with broad aisles. The Romanesque west front was

retained, with the westernmost bay of the old nave and the towers on each side; but this bay and the west front were heightened, so as to bring the gable-end of the new nave to the extreme west end of the church. The west front was also extended north and south, forming a screen-wall, and behind the ends chapels were built to flank the western bays of the nave. The incorporation of the old work at the west end with the new may have been an after-thought: it had the effect of cramping the spacious design on which the eastern part of the nave had been set out, and in consequence the two new western bays are narrower than the others. The completion of this work was probably reached about 1250. By this time the shrine of St. Hugh had become a favourite place of pilgrimage, and soon after the death of bishop Grosseteste in 1254, a new chapel for the shrine was begun at some distance to the east of St. Hugh's apse and built westwards as far as the eastern transept, absorbing the apse and its chapels within its area. These last were removed, and the shrine was translated to its place in the new work in 1280. The new building, known as the Angel choir from the sculptured angels of the triforium stage, continued the choir and its aisles five bays beyond the eastern transept. It was certainly influenced by the work which had been completed at Ely in 1252, and much of the design may be said to translate the details used at Ely into the terms of a more advanced style.

§ 50. The rebuilding of the cathedral of Lincoln, as we now have it, was the work of some hundred years, and its various parts, in their details and in the changes of vaulting-design which they illustrate, are the most interesting example which we possess of the

development of thirteenth-century Gothic, as full of variety as Salisbury is uniform, and as rich in sculptured ornament as Salisbury is severe. On the other hand, the enlargement of the cathedral of York extended over a much longer period. This church, as we have it to-day, consists of a completely aisled eastern arm of nine bays, built during the second half of the fourteenth and early part of the fifteenth century, a thirteenth-century transept with eastern and western aisles, projecting three bays on either side of the tower, and an aisled nave of eight bays of the fourteenth century. Of the church begun soon after the Norman Conquest there are some remains in the crypt, extended eastwards at two later periods, beneath the choir and high altar; and here also we can see what is left of the rebuilding of the chancel undertaken under the auspices of archbishop Roger (1154–81). This was done by lengthening the church eastwards with a rectangular east end, behind which the aisles were joined by a cross-aisle: there seems to have been no projecting eastern chapel, but the eastern altars were ranged, as in some Cistercian abbey churches, along the east wall of the ambulatory. At the north-western angle of the church, which it just touched, Roger founded a collegiate chapel dedicated to St. Mary and the Holy Angels, but generally known as St. Sepulchre's. To judge by the piers in the crypt, Roger's work was of massive Romanesque construction, but in its elaborate detail probably formed a great contrast to the earlier nave and transept which he left standing.

§ 51. The great transept, the southern part of which was probably finished about 1241, covered the whole site of the early transept and its eastern chapels, and

in its height and the breadth given it by its aisles, was quite out of proportion to the lengthened chancel and comparatively short nave. It set an example of vast scale to subsequent builders: as we enter it to-day by the south transept and look across it to the five tall lancet windows of equal height, known as the five sisters, at its northern end, the effect is supremely imposing. It has neither the romantic imagination of the thirteenth-century work at Lincoln nor the almost mechanical perfection of Salisbury: in majesty it surpasses both. In one respect it falls short of the full requirements of Gothic construction. It has no high vault, but a timber ceiling; and, although the nave and eastern arm, as rebuilt later, were designed for vaulting, this was never achieved, so that the clerestories of York, the largest of English cathedrals, are covered throughout with wood. This circumstance helped to increase the ravages of the fire which in 1829 left the eastern arm of the church roofless and the second fire of 1841 which unroofed the nave.

§ 52. In 1291 the rebuilding of the nave, following the scale of the transept, was begun at the north-western pier of the tower. The new work, of eight wide bays, extended considerably west of the end of the Romanesque nave, and was built with wider aisles. As was usual in such cases, the outer walls must have been built outside the older work, which was probably removed piece by piece as the inner arcades were constructed. The widening of the aisles made it necessary, of course, to widen their openings at the transept end: here new arches were built, and the narrower thirteenth-century arches at this point were shifted a bay north and south respectively and then

blocked with stone walling to give additional support to the tower. This proceeding, which reduced the projection of the transept on each side of the church from three broad bays to two broad and one narrow, was repeated on the opposite side when the choir was rebuilt. The nave was finished by the glazing of the west window, in which curvilinear tracery takes the place of the geometrical forms used in the rest of the work, in 1338. As compared with the contemporary work at Exeter, for example, the design of the nave at York, much larger in scale, is somewhat monotonous and unimaginative: while at Exeter the triforium arcade is low and plays a comparatively unimportant part in the scheme, at York this stage is formed by prolonging the lines of the clerestory windows downwards, so that the elevation consists practically of two stages instead of three.

§ 53. The last portion of the work, the eastern arm, was begun in 1361 by the munificence of archbishop John Thoresby. As the early nave and transept had been swallowed up by successive rebuildings, so Roger's chancel now disappeared as the new chancel and choir proceeded westward. There was some interval and a slight change of design between Thoresby's work at the east end and the completion of the choir; but the glazing of the east window was completed in 1408 and, as the contract for this was made in 1405, the fabric was probably then ready. The plan is the aisled rectangle which we have seen at Ely and Lincoln: between the choir and the earlier eastern portion, one bay of each aisle is carried up to the full height of the building, thus forming an eastern transept which does not project beyond the aisle walls. The Lady altar was beneath the great east win-

dow, and west of this, between it and the high altar, was the shrine of St. William of York, whose acts are recorded in the window of the north-eastern transept.

§ 54. Of the secondary cathedral churches of York diocese, Ripon was almost wholly rebuilt under archbishop Roger. Much of his aisled chancel is left with an apsidal chapel on the south side, practically the whole of his transept, and portions, at the east and west end, of his aisleless nave, a work of peculiar design with passages in the thickness of the upper walls, which opened into the main area through a series of lancet openings combined under a row of arches in alternate broad and narrow bays, and with a clerestory above. To this nave a western bay, with towers on each side, was added in or after 1234; and subsequently, the three eastern bays of the choir, which now forms an aisled rectangle of six bays, and portions of its upper parts were remodelled, and the great geometrical east window was made. Late in the fifteenth century, the ruinous state of the tower led to the reconstruction of its eastern and southern sides with new piers and arches below: as seen from the west end of the church, the new south-western pier forms a curious and ugly projection, interfering with the older round arch which remains above. The present nave, with wide aisles and with its arcades on the line of Roger's outer walls, followed this reconstruction and was finished early in the sixteenth century: we have seen that portions of the twelfth-century nave walls were left between the nave and aisles at the east and west ends.

§ 55. At Southwell the Romanesque nave and transept, begun early in the twelfth century, still remain; but the eastern arm was entirely rebuilt in

1234 and the following years. The high vault was carried through to the extreme east end, but the eastern chapel projected two bays east of the ends of the aisles. The aisled portion is six bays in length, and low transeptal chapels project from the aisle walls in the second bay from the east, on either side of the original position of the high altar. Later in the thirteenth century an aisle of two chapels was added to the north transept: the south transept was left without change, and the arch which opened into its apsidal chapel may still be seen in its east wall. The dark nave was somewhat lightened in the fifteenth century by the insertion of new aisle windows and a great west window, and a large chapel was built out beyond the three western bays of the south aisle. This last was unfortunately destroyed in 1784, on the pretext that it spoiled the uniformity of the Romanesque design.

§ 56. The rebuilding of Beverley, which obliterated the earlier church, was begun with the eastern arm and great transept in the first half of the thirteenth century. Here again the high vault was carried through to the east end; but, beyond the four aisled western bays, the building is crossed, like Lincoln, by an eastern transept, projecting a single bay from the outer walls on each side. East of this the aisles are continued by a bay, allowing room for an ambulatory behind the high altar and a chapel to each arm of the eastern transept: beyond this the eastern bay of the chancel forms a projecting chapel. For the logical arrangement of necessary parts, this plan is perfect; and the whole design is an admirable compromise between the beauty and richness of Lincoln, which certainly affected it, and the regularity of Salisbury. The transept, with a

projection of three bays in each arm, and eastern and western aisles, adds to the perfection of the whole plan. After a considerable interval, the work was continued by the building of a new nave. Although the details of this part of the church speak clearly of the changes which had taken place in architecture during the interval, the general lines of design pursued in the chancel, choir and transept were adhered to, and the effect of the whole building is wonderfully uniform. There is a theory that the nave, in its eastern part, was little more than a recasing of its predecessor, of which nothing certain is known; and it is true that older stonework was freely re-used in it; but the study of an accurate ground-plan shows very clearly that, like the nave of York, it was built upon a wider plan than the earlier nave, and the fact that it was built outside the walls of that nave while it was still standing, so that the builders could not get a straight line through from north to south, explains irregularities in the plan which were corrected when the new work advanced westward of the old and shorter nave. Ten bays in length, it was not finished to the west front and towers till the beginning of the fifteenth century. About 1320–30 the shrine of St. John of Beverley appears to have been placed on a platform behind the high altar, the western face of which formed a sculptured reredos. To light this part of the church better, a great window, glazed in 1419, was inserted in the east wall; and, about the same time, the north chancel aisle was prolonged into a chapel, the east wall of which is in a line with the great east window. The beauty of Beverley is its extreme lightness and gracefulness as a whole: although the actual height of the roof

from the ground is not great, the proportions are so good that the impression of height and space is greater than at Lincoln or even the far loftier church of York, in both of which the effect of height is sacrificed to that of width.

§ 57. At Lichfield a portion of the twelfth-century church is left in the western arch of the north choir-aisle, and the eastern arm, as rebuilt early in the thirteenth century, was to some extent a recasing of the older work. The plan of this choir and chancel resembled that of Roger's church at York, with a low cross-aisle at the east end. It was followed by the reconstruction of the transept with an eastern aisle of two bays in each arm, between 1230 and 1260. The nave, eight bays long to the west front, was rebuilt during the next twenty years or so in a style which, on a somewhat smaller scale, recalls that of the Angel choir at Lincoln, with a beautiful triforium arcade and clerestory openings of an unusual shape, formed of triangles with curved sides filled with geometrical tracery. During the episcopate of Walter Langton (1296–1321) a lofty Lady chapel with a polygonal east end was built on a site east of the chancel, and this was subsequently joined to the choir by the removal of the thirteenth-century chancel and the construction of four new aisled bays. In this new work the vaulting of choir, chancel and Lady chapel is continuous; and, while the Lady chapel was lighted by tall traceried windows, a new clerestory was made above the eight bays, four new and four old, of the chancel and choir arcades. In this the triforium stage was practically suppressed and is represented only by the panelling below the clerestory windows and by the open gallery

in front. The high altar stood in the third bay west of the Lady chapel, and behind it was the shrine of St. Chad.

§ 58. The two cathedral churches of North Wales, Bangor and St. Asaph, are cruciform buildings with rectangular aisleless chancels, transepts and aisled naves. Bangor was for the most part rebuilt after the middle of the fifteenth century, and the nave and west tower, which are simply those of a fair-sized parish church, were made between 1509 and 1532. The remains of earlier work are scanty. At St. Asaph the chancel is mainly of the thirteenth century, but the tower, transept and nave were reconstructed in the fourteenth. Although the church is of no great size and the architecture is plain, the spacious planning and symmetry of its parts give it dignity, and the simple mouldings of the arches, which are continued to the bases of the piers without being interrupted by capitals, show care and refinement in design.

§ 59. St. John's at Chester, which served as an additional cathedral church for the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield, suffered greatly at the Reformation, when the chapter was suppressed and the eastern arm was allowed to fall into ruin; and the fall of the fine west tower in 1881 did much damage at the west end of the nave. The greater part, however, of the plain Romanesque arcades of the nave is still standing, with an early Gothic triforium and clerestory above; and the building is used as a parish church.

§ 60. Two cathedral churches of secular canons, one in Scotland, the other in Ireland, have so close an architectural connection with the greater English churches that they should be mentioned in passing.

WEST FRONT OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. *Plate xii.*

EXETER CATHEDRAL. *Plate xiii.*
The Nave looking West.

The development of the noble church of Glasgow can be traced in the crypt which, owing to the steep fall in the ground at the east end, forms the lower stage of the eastern arm and contained the shrine of St. Kentigern, locally known as St. Mungo. On plan, the church, rebuilt from east to west in the thirteenth century, is a long aisled rectangle, the aisles being continued with an ambulatory two bays beyond the east wall. The transept, like the east transept at York, does not project north and south of the aisles, but is formed by raising a broad bay on each side of the tower to the full height of the high roofs, which are here, as at York, of wood. Towards the end of the fifteenth century a long chapel in extension of the south transept was planned, and a crypt or lower chapel, which again was necessary on account of the slope, was completed: the upper portion, however, was abandoned. The architecture of this late crypt is characteristically Scottish in its conservative adherence to earlier forms; but in the main body of the church the progress of thirteenth-century architecture follows English lines, and the development of tracery from the plain lancet windows of the east end to the geometrical openings of the triforium of the nave is especially noticeable.

§ 61. St. Patrick's at Dublin is for the most part a thirteenth-century building which, in the treatment of the east wall behind the altar and of the ambulatory of two bays and Lady chapel beyond, was strongly influenced by Salisbury. The chancel here is of four bays and the nave of eight: the transept, with east and west aisles, has a projection of two bays in each arm. The church is vaulted throughout, and, though

the height is inconsiderable, the triforium and clerestory stages are allowed their full share in the design. As at Hereford and Llandaff, the chancel and ambulatory are connected by a single wide arch behind the high altar. St. Patrick's was one of two cathedral churches in Dublin: the other, Christ Church, which has undergone a costly process of modern restoration, belonged to a body of Austin canons. This smaller church had a short apse with an ambulatory, which was prolonged eastwards into square-ended chapels, the middle one of which projected slightly beyond the others. This eastward extension was achieved probably after 1170: the earlier plan is indicated by the crypt beneath the apse and transept.

§ 62. With the exception of Llandaff, which was planned without a transept, and of Exeter, where the two Romanesque towers rise above the transept arms, all the secular, like the monastic cathedrals, were intended to have towers between the chancel and nave. Early towers, as at Lincoln, sometimes fell and hastened on the work of rebuilding, and generally the upper stages of towers were left until the reconstruction of the main body of the church was entirely finished. Thus at Salisbury the tower and spire were not finished till late in the fourteenth century: at Lincoln the magnificent upper stage of the tower was not taken in hand until some years after the completion of the Angel choir and the necessary buildings of the church generally. At Beverley, as at Westminster abbey, the tower never rose beyond the pitch of the outer roofs, and the same thing can be seen at Bangor. At St. Patrick's, Dublin, the outer roofs are continued over the crossing without a tower.

St. Davids, Old St. Paul's, Salisbury and St. Asaph were all planned with a single tower above the crossing of the transept, which at Salisbury was crowned with a stone spire. At Hereford, where the present tower was built in the fourteenth century, there was also, as in some large monastic churches, a tall tower above the western bay of the nave. This fell in 1786, a circumstance which led to a disastrous restoration of the nave. But the larger number of secular cathedrals were planned with two additional towers over the western bays of the aisles, and Southwell still has its three Romanesque towers, completed in the second half of the twelfth century. At Lincoln the lower stages of the two western towers, which rise behind the wall of the west front, were finished about 1150: the lofty stages which crown them and complete the tallest group of three towers in England were added probably between 1380 and 1400. At Ripon, as we have seen, the central tower formed part of the late twelfth-century work and underwent partial reconstruction in the fifteenth century: the two low western towers with the western bay of the nave were an addition of the middle of the thirteenth century. The towers projected outside Roger's aisleless building; and, when the nave was aisled in the sixteenth century, the breadth of the aisles was determined by that of the towers.

The western towers at York rise directly above the ends of the aisles. The upper stages, however, were not added until the middle and later part of the fifteenth century, early in which the great tower at the crossing was rebuilt upon recased piers with new arches. At Beverley the western towers are entirely early fifteenth-

century work, built with the latest part of the nave. The famous group of spired towers at Lichfield, where the western towers are slightly broader than the aisles, belongs to the fourteenth century, the spires being added to the towers after an interval of several years. The central spire, however, plainer in design than the others, was probably not built till considerably later than the two western ones, and was reconstructed at the Restoration, after the damage incurred by the church in the Civil wars. At Wells the western towers stand wholly outside the line of the aisles above the extremities of the west front. The southern tower was built at the end of the fourteenth century, the northern in the second quarter of the fifteenth: like the great tower at York, they were never finished with pinnacles. It has already been said that the rebuilding of the central tower, early in the fourteenth century, led to the strengthening of the piers below by the insertion of inverted arches. The raising of a heavy mass of stonework above the crossing-piers was often a source of danger: thus the towers at Salisbury and Worcester had to be supported by internal flying buttresses which interfered with the adjoining clerestory and triforium stages, and at Salisbury, in the fifteenth century, "strainer" arches were built inside the north and south arches of the crossing to counteract the pressure on the piers. Examination of the bays which adjoin the great tower at Lincoln shows how the weight was guarded against by substituting solid stonework for clusters of shafts: when the upper part of the tower was built, its walls were constructed in two thin planes of stone with passages between.

At Glasgow, where the middle tower has a spire,

the beginnings of western towers were entirely removed at a modern restoration; and at Chichester, where the tower and spire fell in 1861, and were rebuilt, the towers planned at the west end of the aisles and projecting beyond them were never completed. That on the south was finished as high as the pitch of the main roof, and the northern tower has been built in modern times up to the same level. The bells at Chichester were placed in the detached tower specially built for the purpose during the first half of the fifteenth century, which stands on the north-west side of the church. A detached bell-tower, contemporary with the main body of the cathedral, stood in a similar position at Salisbury until the disastrous restoration under Wyatt towards the close of the eighteenth century.

Llandaff has, as we have said, no central tower: of the two western towers, the northern is a handsome tower with parapets and pinnacles of a type common in the late Gothic parish churches of the west of England; while the other, retaining some thirteenth-century work in the lower part, is, with the spire above it, modern. The nave at Bangor has a single west tower, in the position of that of an ordinary parish church. At St. John's, Chester, the tower at the crossing of the Romanesque church fell into ruin in 1572, and we have seen that the fine fifteenth-century western tower collapsed in 1881. The extremely massive spired bell-tower of St. Patrick's, Dublin, which stands outside the north-west bay of the nave, was built after a fire that took place in 1362, when the four western bays on the north side of the nave were also remodelled.

§ 63. At Lincoln, Wells and Exeter the extension of the western screen-walls beyond the aisles of the church

made additional chapels at their extremities possible. Such screen-walls, although they hide the plan of the church behind and bear no actual relation to its component parts, are in themselves architectural features of great beauty. At Wells and Exeter, as well as at Lichfield and Beverley, where the screen-treatment of the west front was followed in a less pronounced form, their surfaces were covered by canopied niches filled with statuary. At Lincoln and Salisbury the screen-walls were merely arcaded, with spired pinnacles at their extremities. The doorways in the west front were used only on special occasions, and the chief entrances ordinarily used were sometimes, as at York and Lichfield, doorways in transept-ends, or porches, like the noble north porches at Wells and Salisbury, or the spacious porch known as the Galilee on the west side of the south transept at Lincoln. The north porch at Hereford is of two dates, the inner part of the thirteenth, the outer bay with the chamber above of the fifteenth century. Side-porches for the use of the people are also found in monastic churches, such as the north porch of the nave at Worcester and the south porches at Canterbury and Gloucester: at Ely the chief entrance to the church was through the thirteenth-century western porch or Galilee, and at Peterborough, as has been said, the west doorway was covered by a vast screen-like portico, with three open arches the whole height of the main building. In the middle arch, during the fifteenth century, a porch was constructed with a chapel above, which is now used as the chapter library.

§ 64. We have said little of the chantry-chapels which, built out from the main fabrics of cathedrals

from time to time, form excrescences from the plan, such as the chapels of bishops Stanbury and Audley at Hereford, the large Zouche chapel on the south side of the choir at York, and the three chapels entered from the aisles of the Angel choir at Lincoln. One remarkable example of the addition of chapels is at Chichester, where, in the thirteenth century, an aisle of chapels was built outside four bays of the south aisle of the nave, in a line with the outer walls of the south porch and the south-west tower, and later a line of chapels in five bays was added to the north aisle, giving great breadth to the nave.

Sacristies and other necessary buildings were also added as out-buildings from the eastern arm and transept, like the sacristy on the south side of the choir at Lichfield with the chapel of St. Chad's head as its upper story.

§ 65. Monastic cathedrals, as a matter of course, had a cloister attached to them, round which were ranged the buildings necessary for the life of the monks. As we are not treating here of the arrangements of monasteries it is enough to call attention to the survival of complete cloister-walks and of large portions of the monastic buildings at Canterbury, Chester, Durham, Gloucester, Norwich and Worcester. This cloister was uniformly on the south or north side of the nave, as the convenience of the site dictated: the one exception is at Rochester, where, to give more room for the outer court of the monastery upon a cramped site, the cloister was on the south side of the eastern arm. Although a cloister was not necessary in a church of secular canons, where each canon had his own house in the close and there was, strictly speaking, no common life, yet a

cloister formed a convenient covered promenade and was useful for various purposes. At Exeter, Hereford, Salisbury and Wells there were cloisters in the ordinary position on the south side of the nave: those at Salisbury and Wells rival the great monastic cloisters in extent and beauty. The cloister at Old St. Paul's was on the south side of the four eastern bays of the nave. At Lincoln the cloister is on the north side of the choir, but detached from it by the length of the north-eastern transept, through which it is entered; while at Chichester the irregularly shaped cloister of three sides is on the south side of the church, its eastern walk communicating with the ambulatory between the Lady chapel and high altar, and its western walk ending in the south porch of the nave.

§ 66. As a rule, the monastic custom of building a chapter-house on the east side of the cloister was followed. This was done at Exeter, Hereford, Lincoln and Salisbury: the chapter-house at Hereford has been destroyed. At Old St. Paul's, where the eastern walk of the cloister did not extend beyond the south transept, the chapter-house was built in the middle of the space. At Wells, where there was an older chapel on the east side of the cloister, it was built on the opposite side of the church, north of the choir. In churches where there was no cloister, one of the out-buildings attached to the choir or transept was used as a chapter-house, or a special chapter-house was built, as at Lichfield, York and Southwell, and connected with the choir or transept by a covered passage or vestibule. The chapter-house of Beverley, north of the choir, no longer exists, but the beautiful double stair by which it was approached remains.

§ 67. The plan of the chapter-house at Exeter is oblong, like that of the greater number of chapter-houses of monasteries; and, where a mere room in one of the dependent buildings of a church was used in this way, there was no need to consider the requirements of a special plan. In the secular cathedrals, however, the polygonal chapter-house was developed into a form of structure which Gothic builders never surpassed in beauty. Its origin is to be found, it is true, in monasteries: the circular Romanesque chapter-house at Worcester, altered externally into a decagon about 1400, is an example of a type which was to be found in a few monastic establishments during the twelfth century. At Worcester there is a central column, on which the ribs of the vault are gathered. From this circular plan to the polygonal chapter-house with its vaulting compartments radiating from the central pier the transition is easy. The earliest of the great secular chapter-houses is the ten-sided building at Lincoln, prolonged westward to the cloister by a large rectangular vestibule. Here the upper portion of the wall, above the stone seat which ran round the building, is lighted by two large lancets in each bay. The angle-buttresses, as originally designed, were insufficient for the outward thrust of the vaulting, and consequently a massive detached buttress was built opposite each outer angle at a distance of several feet and connected with the corresponding angle-buttress by a flying-arch. The whole building was covered by a steep pyramidal outer roof.

The chapter-house at Lichfield, on the north side of the choir, from which it is entered by a vaulted passage or vestibule at right-angles to it, was built about the

middle of the thirteenth century and is octangular with a central pier. It is longer from east to west than from north to south, the middle bays on each side being twice as broad as the others. The lower part of the wall is, as usual, surrounded by a stone bench with arcading above, the upper being pierced by a series of two-light windows. The building is of two stories, the upper story being a chapel, now used as a library and muniment-room. Very near this in date is the magnificent octagonal chapter-house at Westminster abbey, built about 1250, in which the polygonal form was perfected. The example of this famous monastery was followed in the second half of the thirteenth century by the secular cathedral of Salisbury. Here we see Gothic construction in its full development: the walls between the angles of the octagon are filled by great four-light windows, very like those at Westminster, with geometrical tracery: the stone-work is reduced to a minimum, and the arcading between the windows and bench is enriched with the most delicate sculpture and moulding.

To the end of the same century, although probably not completed till about 1320, belongs the octagonal chapter-house at York with the vestibule by which it is approached from the north transept. The pride of its builders in their work is expressed by the inscription "Ut rosa flos florum, sic est domus ista domorum," "As the rose is the flower of flowers, so is this the house of houses"; and the majesty of the building itself and the passage which leads to it is enhanced by the superb contemporary stained glass of the windows. The builders, however, dispensed with the central pier; and the chapter-house shares the general defect of the main

fabric of the cathedral in being covered with a wooden instead of a stone roof. In the chapter-house at Southwell, entered by a beautiful vestibule from the north side of the choir and finished rather earlier than the building at York, the central pier was also omitted. Here, however, the area to be covered was much smaller, and a vault was built. In the deeply undercut sculpture of its doorway and arcading, the Southwell chapter-house is unsurpassed among Gothic buildings: if the foliage which is faithfully imitated in wonderful variety has less vigour than the conventional foliage of early Gothic sculpture, the skill and perfection of the work leave nothing to be desired.

At Beverley the vanished chapter-house was an octagon, and this was also the case at Hereford. At Old St. Paul's, where, as has been said, the chapter-house was in the middle of a small cloister, it was octagonal, and the plans show that, instead of a single central pier, there were four piers in the middle of the building, so that triangular vaulting-compartments must have alternated with compartments which were nearly square round a square central bay. In the latest of the great octagonal chapter-houses which exist, the early fourteenth-century building at Wells, the central pier was employed. This is built above a vaulted chamber, completed late in the thirteenth century and used as the treasury of the church, and the chapter-house is consequently approached by a stair at the end of the eastern aisle of the north transept. The picturesque beauty of this mounting vestibule was increased in the fifteenth century, when it was continued northward by the covered bridge which leads to the vicars' court.

Octagonal chapter-houses on a small scale and without

central piers are also to be found in some of the smaller collegiate churches. The ruined chapter-house at Howden in Yorkshire and the restored chapter-house of Manchester cathedral are in each case on the south side of the choir. At St. Mary's, Warwick, the chapter-house, a small building now almost filled by the seventeenth-century tomb of Fulke Greville, was north of the chancel. The chapter-house at Glasgow is a square building, with a column in the middle, entered from the north-east corner of the crypt, with a sacristy above entered from the upper church.

§ 68. The monastic chapter-houses of Worcester and Westminster have already been mentioned. Other chapter-houses of monastic cathedrals which remain are the Romanesque buildings at Bristol, of which the east end has disappeared, and Durham, rebuilt in modern times on the old plan, with an eastern apse; the thirteenth-century chapter-houses at Chester and Oxford, both rectangular; the rectangular chapter-house at Canterbury, rebuilt in the fourteenth century; and the chapter-house at Gloucester, with three bays of Romanesque work and a shallow polygonal eastern bay of the end of the fifteenth century. In the other monastic cathedral churches the chapter-houses have been removed, and the modern chapter meetings are held in some convenient part of the church. The present chapter-room at Rochester, entered through a beautiful fourteenth-century doorway, was the sacristy of the church: the remains of the old chapter-house can still be seen on the east side of the site of the cloister.

§ 69. We have referred several times to Old St. Paul's, the most vast of secular cathedrals. Its successor, consecrated in 1697, although built in the classical

style which had become naturalised in England and unaffected by the plan of the earlier church, derived certain features from Gothic churches. The distinctive cross-plan with great transepts is one of these; and the tradition that the plan of the space beneath the dome was suggested by the octagon of Ely is rendered possible by the fact that some of Wren's earliest architectural work was done at Ely, where his uncle was bishop. The internal elevation of the building is concealed outside by the high screen-walls which, largely for the purpose of counteracting outward pressure, rise above the outer walls of the aisles; but the triforium and clerestory system is preserved. The triforium galleries are wide and lofty passages, and, as we look down on the roofs from the gallery at the springing of the dome, we see the flying buttresses which cross the roof of the triforium from the clerestory windows. The tradition of the three-towered church was also preserved; and, although the great dome is the feature of the building that overpowers all others, the pillared towers and cupolas above the end of the aisles have a definite and prominent place in the scheme.

(iii) PARISH CHURCHES CONVERTED INTO CATHEDRALS AND MODERN CATHEDRAL CHURCHES

§ 70. A full discussion of these belongs properly to a book upon the parish church, and the development of such churches as Wakefield, St. Nicholas at Newcastle and St. Michael's at Coventry is that of churches which have been extended by degrees to their present size in accordance with the requirements of parochial services. Their history is parallel to that of great churches like

Ludlow, Grantham, Newark-on-Trent and St. Mary Redcliffe at Bristol. This applies also to the cathedral churches of Chelmsford, Bury St. Edmunds and Sheffield, the last a cruciform church with a central tower and spire, to the cathedral of Bradford and probably to more churches in the future which will be dignified by a bishop's throne. The pro-cathedral of St. Philip at Birmingham is a classical building of the eighteenth century, remarkable mainly for the convenience of its central position, but with a tower and cupola above the west end which have great merits of design.

§ 71. The fine cathedral church of Manchester, with an ambulatory and projecting Lady chapel behind the high altar, was a parish church of some size and importance, the government of which was transferred in 1422 from a rector to a college of chantry-priests with a warden as its head. Such colleges differed considerably from the cathedral chapters of secular canons: conditions of habitual residence were enforced on the members, and a common life, not unlike that of a monastery, was led by the priests in buildings near the church. The collegiate buildings, now called Chetham's hospital, still stand at Manchester near the north side of the church; and the church itself, with the fittings of the choir and its chapter-house, is an excellent example of the church of a large and well-endowed secular foundation of the type. During the century after the foundation of the college, the whole church was gradually enlarged and rebuilt. This rebuilding was accompanied by a general widening of the chancel and nave north and south, so that the aisles of the choir and chancel received outer chapels, and the nave, with two aisles on each side, is broader than it is long. In addition, the

Lady chapel projected from the east end, another chapel from the north side of the north chapel of the choir, and a third narrow chapel from the outer south aisle of the nave. It is probable that the original church, like Wakefield, had a transept and a central tower which were removed to allow of the full expansion of the building: at any rate, the tower at the west end is wholly of the date of the general reconstruction. Although the church was not planned to be a cathedral, it is fully worthy of the dignity, and, since its conversion to its present purpose, the plan has been further extended by north and south porches, a new chapel at the south-east corner of the chancel, and, more recently, by a large western porch with lower buildings on each side.

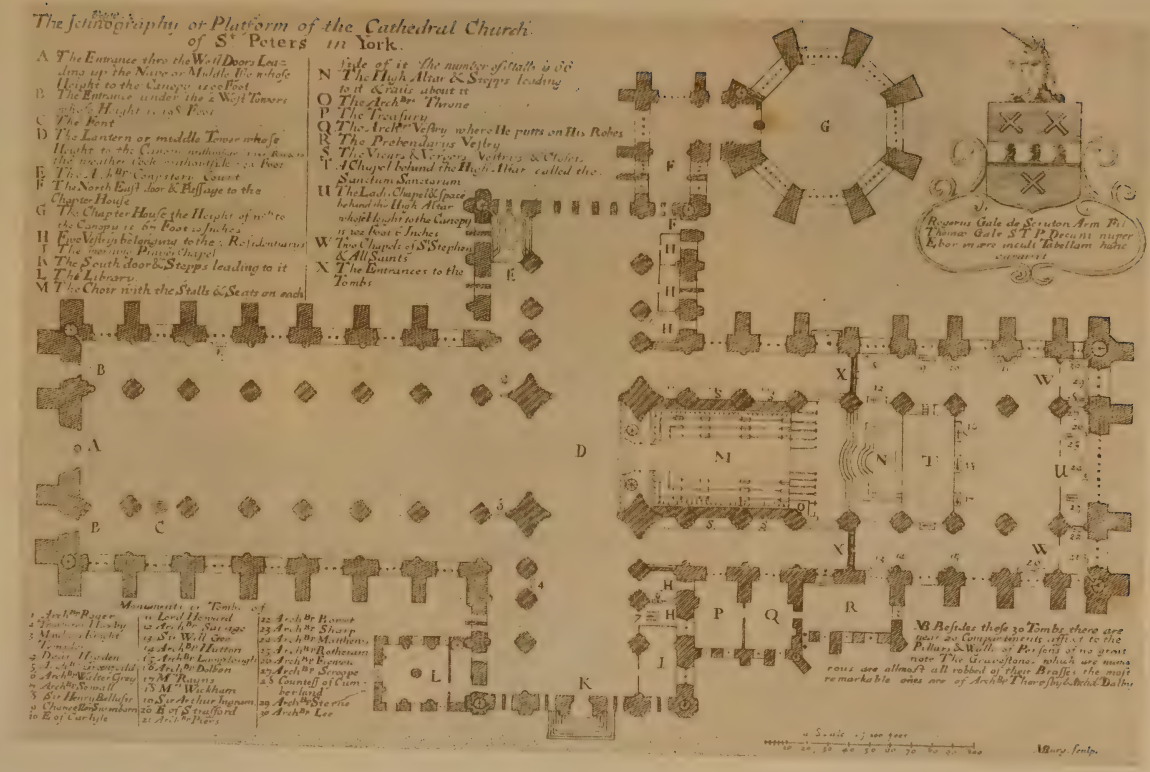
§ 72. An interesting point about the cathedral churches of St. James at Bury St. Edmunds and St. Michael's at Coventry, the second a church of great size with a lofty west tower and spire, is that each is one of a pair of large parish churches which were built on the edge of the precincts of a great monastery. In both cases, the monastic church has disappeared, while the parish churches remain. The abbey church of Bury St. Edmunds is now reduced to some masses of rubble, from which the ashlar casing has been stripped. Of the cathedral priory church of Coventry, once the premier cathedral church of the diocese of Lichfield, the foundations and some of the lower parts of the west end alone remain, relics of a church which in architectural character and general plan was not unlike Lichfield as we know it.

§ 73. When the diocese of Truro was formed in 1877, the parish church of St. Mary, a fifteenth-century

building of local granite with the elaborate carving that is found in some Cornish churches, was chosen as the pro-cathedral. Soon afterwards, a large new cathedral church, in imitation of thirteenth-century Gothic, was begun from the designs of Mr. J. L. Pearson. To make room for the choir and chancel, the old church was taken down with the exception of the south aisle of the nave, which was incorporated with the new choir as an extra south aisle. After an interval of several years, an aisled nave was added to the eastern arm and transept and the central tower and spire were finished, and, about thirty years after the foundation of the see, the church was completed by the raising of the western towers with their spires. It should be remembered that for a short time before the Conquest, there had been a Saxon see of Cornwall with its cathedral at St. Germans in the extreme east of the county. The present church of St. Germans, with two towers at the west end, contains no work earlier than the twelfth century, and was the nave of a priory church of Austin canons.

§ 74. The second modern English cathedral church is now in course of construction at Liverpool, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott in a style freely adapted from the Gothic of the fourteenth century but with a constructive skill and originality which give it a high place among great buildings. The Lady chapel, to the south-east of the church, has been finished for some years. In July 1924 the choir and the eastern transept were completed and consecrated: the great central tower, western transept and nave are still to come.

§ 75. One of the two recently formed Welsh dioceses, that of Swansea and Brecon, has a worthy cathedral in the priory church of St. John at Brecon, externally a


The Scenography or Platform of the Cathedral Church of St Peters in York.
A The Entrance thro the West Doors Leading up the Nave or Middle Isle whose Height to the Canopy is 100 Foot
B The Entrance under the 2 West Towers whose Height is 198 Foot
C The Font
D The Lantern or middle Tower whose Height to the Canopy without the Top Rock to the weather Cock is 213 Foot
E The Arch Bp Consistory Court
F The North East door & Passage to the Chapter House
G The Chapter House the Height of which to the Canopy is 60 Foot 10 Inches
H Five Vestries belonging to the 5 Residentiaries
I The ancient Prison Chapel
K The South door & Stepps leading to it
L The Library
M The Choir with the Stalls & Seats on each Side of it the number of Stalls is 66
N The High Altar & Steppes leading to it & Rails about it
O The Arch Bps Throne
P The Treasury
Q The Arch Bps Vestry where He puts on His Robes
R The Prebendaries Vestry
S The Vicars & Singing Men's Vestries & Cloister
T A Chapel behind the High Altar called the Sanctum Sanctorum
U The Lady Chapel & Space behind the High Altar whose Height to the Canopy is 102 Foot 6 Inches taken
W Two Chapels of St Stephen & All Saints
X The Entrances to the Tombs
Monuments or Tombs of
1 Arch Bp Roger
2 Treasurer Hornby
3 Mayor Knight
4 Dean Haydon
5 Lord Fauconberg
6 Arch Bp Walter Gray
7 Arch Bp Sewall
8 Sir Henry Bellasyse
9 Chancellor Newburn
10 E of Carlisle
11 Lord Howard
12 Arch Bp Savage
13 Sir Will Gee
14 Arch Bp Hutton
15 Arch Bp Longchamp
16 Arch Bp Dalton
17 M Rayns
18 M Wickham
19 Sir Arthur Ingram
20 E of Strafford
21 Arch Bp Piers
22 Arch Bp Wickett
23 Arch Bp Sharp
24 Arch Bp Matthew
25 Arch Bp Rotheram
26 Arch Bp Bowet
27 Arch Bp Scrope
28 Countess of Cumberland
29 Arch Bp Sterne
30 Arch Bp Lee
NB Besides these 30 Tombs there are upon the Compartments affixt to the Pillars & Walls 28 Persons of no great note The Gravestones which are numerous are allmost all robbed of their Brasses the most remarkable ones are of Arch Bp Thoresby & Arch Bp Dalton
Rogerus Gale de Scruton Arm Filius Thomæ Gale S T P Decani nuper Eboracensis Insulam hanc exornavit
Mary Sculp.

PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PETER, YORK.

(from Browne Willis.)

Plate xiv.

LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL *Plate xv.*
West Front.

plain and massive building with a central tower. Belonging to a district which was at no time remarkable for architectural development, its features are simple and austere, but the spacious chancel is a remarkable piece of thirteenth-century work, with groups of tall lancet windows, widely splayed on the inside, which have an effect of singular dignity. The nave, with broad aisles, is later and plainer, and the area of the church was greatly increased by the addition of a large chapel, entered from the north transept and covering most of the north side of the chancel, in the fourteenth century. The cathedral church of the diocese of Monmouth is the parish church of St. Woolos at Newport-on-Usk, on the hill above the town. This building, though much modernised, retains some interesting work of the twelfth century, and its old west front is covered by a long fore-building or ante-church, added in the thirteenth century, which gives it a distinction of its own.

CHAPTER III

INTERNAL ARRANGEMENT AND FURNITURE

§ 1. If we look upon our cathedral churches merely as architectural museums, we miss the point of their existence. It cannot be said too often that the elongations and extensions of plan which have been described in our last chapter were undertaken in the first instance because additional room was needed for the services of the church. The number of priests attached to the church was increased: new masses were endowed by benefactors who wished to secure the salvation of their souls and those of their relations; and new chapels and altars were consequently needed. We must keep in mind that, in a great medieval church with a large staff of clergy, mass was said, not once or twice a day, but many times. The central idea of medieval religious thought was the offering continually made to God in the sacrifice of the mass, at once a perpetual memorial of our Lord's passion and the means of intercession for the living and departed. The building of a church was a work of piety: it was helped on by the issue of indulgences which remitted definite periods of the future pains of purgatory to faithful contributors. The practical object of the whole daily round of its services was to fulfil the duty of pleading for souls; and every religious foundation of the middle ages was the outcome

of this idea. From the ringing of the "day-bell" in the early morning until the high mass in the forenoon its altars were constantly occupied by priests whose task was to plead the merits of the death of Christ on behalf of its founders and benefactors and of the faithful departed generally; while each altar was dedicated to a special saint whose effectual prayers were invoked in aid of the work of intercession.

§ 2. We have seen that the plan of the church consists of three main portions, chancel, transept and nave. The choir, a name often given to the eastern arm of the church beyond the transept, is really the portion of the main body of the church which is screened off for the services of the body to which the church belonged. At Norwich and Peterborough we can still see the arrangement common in early churches. The high altar stands in the middle of the apse: the bays between it and the transept form the chancel or presbytery, affording ample room for a stately ritual. Between this and the choir, where the transept crossed the church, gates upon each side formed the ordinary entrances by which the clergy obtained access to the choir and high altar. The choir itself extended from these gates into the eastern bays of the nave, with rows of stalls upon each side and against the screen, with a doorway in the middle, which crossed it at its lower end, dividing it from the rest of the nave. This is the arrangement which we also see at St. Albans and Westminster abbey. In the monastic churches of Gloucester and Winchester and the secular churches of Chichester, St. Asaph and St. Davids, the choir crosses the transept; while at Llandaff, where there is no transept, it is west of the arch which marks the division between nave and chancel. In the other

old cathedral churches it now occupies the western bays of the eastern arm, a position to which it was generally transferred when the church was lengthened eastward.

§ 3. The arrangement of the minor altars of the church in the transept and the aisles, and consequently the general plan of the church, were largely dictated by convenience for processions. On Sundays and great festivals before high mass the altars of the church were visited in turn by a procession which started from the high altar and choir and went round the whole building in a fixed order. Thus, if we imagine Peterborough in its original state, before the " new building " was added behind the apse, the course of the procession would be as follows. The celebrant and his assistant ministers came down from the high altar with their attendants and passed through the north gate between the chancel and choir, followed by the monks from the choir stalls. Proceeding to the northernmost altar of the transept, the celebrant sprinkled it with holy water, and then passed on to the next, the procession halting at each station. From the transept-altars, the altar in the apse of the north aisle was visited. The procession then passed across the west end of the chancel from one choir-gate to the other, and to the altars at the end of the south aisle and in the south transept. Then, going down the south aisle of the nave behind the choir stalls, it entered the cloister by the doorway, still in place, which led into the east walk. The chief conventual buildings were then entered in turn, and the procession, having gone round three sides of the cloister, re-entered the church through the doorway at the end of the west walk. It then lined up in two rows in the nave in front of the rood-screen, which in

monastic churches stood a bay west of the choir-screen. After the celebrant had censed the altar which stood against the middle of the rood-screen, the two rows went through the doorways which pierced the screen on either side and entered the choir through the doorway in the middle of the choir-screen, going to their stalls while the celebrant and ministers returned to the altar.

§ 4. The ambulatory plan which we see at Norwich was more convenient as it allowed the procession to pass from transept to transept round the altar without retracing its steps through the north gate of the choir; and the eastern additions to large churches always included an ambulatory for the procession. However many chapels there might be behind the high altar, a bay across the church was left clear for a processional path. Thus the Nine Altars chapel at Durham and the " new building " at Peterborough had altars against their east walls, divided by low walls or screens, but the western portion of either building was an open aisle. At Durham this divided the eastern altars from the shrine of St. Cuthbert; and, where there was a shrine for the local saint at the back of the high altar, the processional path was arranged between it and the altars farther east. In all cross-churches, whether the choir was east or west of the crossing, the first altar visited was the farthest altar in the north transept, or in the south transept if there happened to be a cloister upon the north side.

§ 5. A glance at such a plan as that of Beverley, where the necessary parts of the church are disposed very logically with great economy of space, indicates the governing influence of the Sunday procession upon the arrangement of the building. One reminiscence

of this ceremony is preserved in the term "Galilee," applied to the western chapel at Durham and to some other porches, for which various explanations have been invented. Sunday was the weekly festival of the Resurrection, and, in the symbolism freely associated with ritual, the celebrant, walking in front of the procession, recalled the Risen Lord followed by his disciples. When, at Durham, the procession came back from the cloister into the nave, it turned westward to the southern doorway of this outer chapel; and, as the celebrant passed through it from the church, the words of our Lord, "I will go before you into Galilee," were forcibly illustrated. The plan of the Durham Galilee, with doorways from each aisle of the nave, was well adapted for the free circulation of the procession. When, towards the end of the ceremony, those taking part in it lined up in the nave, their regular position was indicated by a series of stones let into the floor in two rows at equal distances. Traces of such stones have been found in many churches, and old plans of York and Lincoln show them.

§ 6. The multitude of altars in a great medieval church gave it a very different aspect from that of the wide and somewhat empty interiors of to-day, in which the nave, though often seated for services, is really a huge vestibule to the choir, and the transept is almost superfluous for practical use. There are many people who complain that the screens, with organs above, which divide the choir from the nave in several cathedral churches, interfere with a clear view from one end of the church to the other. Picturesque and imposing as the interior of Ely, for example, is to-day, where the view from the west doorway to the tall lancets at the

east end is practically uninterrupted, such a vista had no part in the scheme of medieval buildings. Where these long vistas now exist, they have been created at the expense of works of art, freely destroyed by restorers whose sympathy with the original purpose of the churches entrusted to their care was small. The present spaciousness and lightness of Salisbury, with its row of tombs disposed symmetrically on plinths between the nave and aisles and its light metal screen between nave and choir, may afford charming points of view for a sketch on a sunny day; but the effect is a poor compensation for the wholesale destruction of the old stained glass and the removal of the beautiful choir-screen, of which a portion remains built into the west wall of the north-eastern transept. Durham and St. Paul's may have gained in mere imposingness by the removal of their post-Reformation choir-screens; but there can be no question that seventeenth-century architects, in perpetuating these medieval features, showed far more intelligence than the restorers. Even if the needs of large congregations be pleaded, it is difficult in these vast areas for a congregation to take any active interest in a service where, for the greater number, seeing and hearing are alike difficult.

§ 7. Medieval builders did not take large congregations into account. Our cathedral churches were built for bodies of clergy whose common services in the choir and at the high altar were practically confined to themselves, like the services of a college chapel to-day. In monasteries the laity were not admitted to the choir: some orders excluded them from their churches altogether. In secular churches, although there is some indication that they were occasionally encouraged to

attend the daily choir-offices, few would habitually be found there. In certain churches part of the nave was used as a parish church by dwellers in the neighbourhood of the precincts. The parish altar of St. Vincent was in the nave at Southwell: at Beverley and Ripon some of the principal altars had parishes attached to them. We find, however, early in the fourteenth century, the dean and chapter of Lincoln providing a separate church outside the close for the parishioners of St. Mary Magdalene's, who previously had worshipped in the nave; and to a similar desire to keep the cathedral or monastic church free from a divided authority are due St. Peter's, generally known as the Subdeanery church, at Chichester, St. Nicholas' at Rochester, and the present cathedrals of Coventry and Bury St. Edmunds. At Westminster, again, the parish church of St. Margaret, beneath the shadow of the abbey, reminds us that the greater building was the church of a religious community without parochial cares.

§ 8. Apart from the avenues which it was necessary to leave clear for processions and for access from the main doorways, the whole available space in a large medieval church was divided into chapels, screened off from each other by structures of stone or wood. The aisles of the nave could be occupied in this way. At Durham, for instance, three bays of the south aisle were screened off to form the Neville chapel, and, as has been said earlier, the Lady chapel at Canterbury was for a long period in the north aisle of the nave. We have seen that, in the thirteenth century, outer aisles were added at Chichester to provide a series of chapels, divided from each other by stone walls beneath transverse arches. Similarly, the eastern aisles of

transepts contained two or more chapels, according to the number of bays. At Lincoln the low stone walls between their altars remain, with the screens which shut them off from the main area of the transept. As time went on and the number of chantries endowed in a church increased, room was found for more chapels. Tombs, with altars at their head or foot, were enclosed within stone screenwork and beneath vaulted roofs under arches of the main arcades. There is, for example, the great series of combined tombs and chantry-chapels of bishops at Winchester: Edington's on the south side of the steps leading to the choir, Wykeham's filling a whole arch in the fifth bay of the nave from the west, Beaufort's and Waynflete's opposite each other in the middle of the eastern extension of the building between the high altar and Lady chapel, Foxe's and Gardiner's on either side of the feretory or shrine-chapel of St. Swithun—the whole supplying a consecutive study in the progress of Gothic sculpture from the middle of the fourteenth century to the eve of the Renaissance. One may recall also the Hungerford tomb-chapel at Salisbury and Prince Arthur's chapel at Worcester, each on the south side of the high altar, the chapels of bishop Bubbewyth and treasurer Sugar, opposite each other in the eastern bay of the nave at Wells, and the chapels of abbots Seabroke and Parker, on either side of the choir at Gloucester. Even where the tombs of bishops and other important persons, which add so great an attraction to some of our cathedrals—Canterbury, Hereford, Salisbury and Wells may be mentioned in particular—were not placed within special chapels, there were generally altars near them where masses were said for their souls. Chantry-chapels of a similar type were

also made by building them between buttresses of the aisles. Thus the late chapels of bishops Russell and Longland flank the south doorway of the Angel choir at Lincoln ; and, on the opposite side, bishop Flemyng's chapel projects from a bay of the north aisle. Instances of this kind are frequent : bishop Audley, whose large chapel was added to the south side of the Lady chapel at Hereford, founded another on the south of the choir in his second cathedral church at Salisbury, and in the north wall of the nave at Lichfield are to be seen traces of the destroyed chapel of dean Yotton.

§ 9. Therefore, if we try to picture to ourselves the internal appearance of one of our cathedral churches, as it was during the century before the Reformation, the period at which church furniture reached its highest magnificence, we must remember that, wherever the eye rested, the prospect was broken by the screenwork of chapels. In every direction, too, the eye was met by rich colour. Some of the effect of this can be conceived at York, where the old stained glass remains in all but a few windows, giving the church a subdued gorgeousness of colour unequalled in any other English building of similar size. When, however, the whole of the building, the mouldings of the arches, the sculpture of capitals and spandrels, screens, stalls, tombs and rere-doses, were covered with painting and gilding, the effect, combined with the hues of the stained glass, must have been dazzling. Such fragments of ancient colour as remain here and there are dim and faded, like the wall-painting above the doorway of the chapter-house at Lichfield and the paintings at the back of the choir stalls at Carlisle. Occasionally a tomb like that of bishop Peter of Aigueblanche at Hereford, or an effigy

like that of bishop Bronescombe at Exeter, retain sufficient traces of their decoration to give a fair idea of their original appearance; while the treatment applied recently to the tombs on the north side of the chancel at Westminster has restored to them the brilliance which had become dim and almost forgotten. In some cases a repainted effigy, though somewhat garish amid the greyness of its surroundings, reminds us of the atmosphere of warmth and brightness in which it was formerly a mere detail. While colour has disappeared save from windows—and windows merely formed part of a general scheme—sculpture in stone and wood has also been freely destroyed. Such screenwork as remains is a small fragment in proportion to the whole. Reredoses such as the beautiful "table" of the Jesus altar at Durham have gone, with the screens against which they stood and those which fenced off their chapels. Others have been left in a mutilated condition. The altar-screen at Durham is a series of empty niches; the sculpture of the west side of the reredos at Beverley is modern; modern figures fill the tabernacles of the lofty altar-screens at St. Albans, Southwark and Winchester; the small reredos of bishop Oldham's chapel at Exeter has been defaced, like the sculptures of the Lady chapel at Ely. Although much of this destruction is due to the Reformation period, and some may be attributed to the Civil wars, the modern restorer has also much to answer for.

§ 10. Certain special points in the furniture of the church may be touched upon. In the first place, with regard to the fittings of the high altar, which apply upon a smaller scale to those of the other altars of the building, the whole arrangement was very unlike that which

became fashionable during the Gothic revival of the nineteenth century. The altar was long and low, raised a pace above the level of the chancel floor: it was, of course, constructed of stone, with the upper slab laid upon a plain rectangular table of dressed stone. In early churches with apses it stood some feet in advance of the east wall, and the seats for the clergy, with the bishop's throne in the middle, were ranged in a semi-circle behind it. This was the general custom in Saxon churches: at Hexham and Beverley stone chairs remain which, known to-day as frith-stools or sanctuary seats, were no doubt originally in this position. The traditional position of the archbishop's throne at Canterbury was behind the high altar. Here it stood in the enlarged church of 1130, at the top of a flight of eight steps, down which the archbishop, when he was present, came when the time approached for the consecration of the elements. The chair, now in the eastern chapel of the church, in which the archbishops were still enthroned, is known traditionally as the chair of St. Augustine, but is not earlier than the existing building. At Norwich, however, the remains of the old bishops' throne, a plain seat approached by steps, are in their original position in the eastern bay of the apse.

It is obvious that where, according to this early custom of immemorial usage, the bishop and his clergy sat behind the altar, no screen or reredos hid them from the central object of the service. The whole arrangement was modelled upon the vision of heaven in the Revelation of St. John: round about the throne were the seats of the elders; in the middle was the altar, the perpetual reminder of the sacrifice of the Lamb that was slain; the relics of saints enclosed

within the altar or entombed in the crypt beneath it represented the souls of those who were slain for the word of God, which cried out from beneath the altar "How long, O Lord, holy and true!" Probably a canopy or *ciborium* was sometimes built on pillars above the altar itself, like the modern Gothic structure at Peterborough. We know, however, that the altar of the 1130 church at Canterbury had at its eastern corners two wooden columns adorned with gold and silver, and that on their capitals rested the ends of a great transverse beam, in the middle of which was an image of our Lord in majesty with statues of St. Dunstan and St. Alphege and a series of reliquaries, covered with gold and silver, on either side. Between the columns was a gilded cross, the centre of which was surrounded by a circle of crystals.

§ 11. At the same time, it should be remembered that the position of the seats behind the altar at Norwich and Canterbury was merely the survival of an ancient custom which belonged to the days when, as in the Roman basilicas, the high altar was at the west end of the church. In those days the bishop sat facing eastwards: when he came down from his throne to consecrate, he stood behind the altar with his face to the nave; and it is probable that at this part of the service curtains, on rods between pillars at the corners of the altar, were drawn across its sides and front while the consecration proceeded. In churches where, as became general, the altar was placed in an eastern apse, he consecrated in front of the altar, facing eastwards as before, but with his back to the main body of the church. The position of the throne and seats round the apse thus became unnecessary: it was transferred

to the sides of the chancel, and the back of the altar was left free for decorative treatment. The process of the enlargement of our greater churches has already been traced: we have seen how the apsidal form disappeared in favour of a rectangular arrangement of eastern chapels, with, in several instances, the chapel of the local saint in a central position east of the altar. From these chapels the altar was divided by a low screen-wall stretching across the middle area of the church, behind which rose the shrine of the saint upon its raised platform, as may be seen to-day at Westminster abbey. The screen-wall was treated sometimes with traceried openings in its upper portion: sometimes it was covered with niches for statuary. Above the altar itself was a sculptured panel or series of panels, forming a retable or reredos; across its north and south sides were drawn curtains or riddels, and at the top of the pillars supporting the rods were figures of angels holding candlesticks for tapers. The altar had none of those shelves for cross and candles which have become so common in modern times. A representation of the Crucifixion often formed the central feature of the reredos behind it, but no cross or crucifix was placed upon it. Two lighted tapers were sometimes set on it during the service, but the lights used during mass, which varied in number according to occasion, were very generally in tall candlesticks on the floor or arranged on a beam above it, and were sometimes carried by assistants. There were no flowers in vases: flowers and herbs were strewn about the floor in its neighbourhood.

These details can be recovered from illuminations in manuscripts, which also provide a wealth of in-

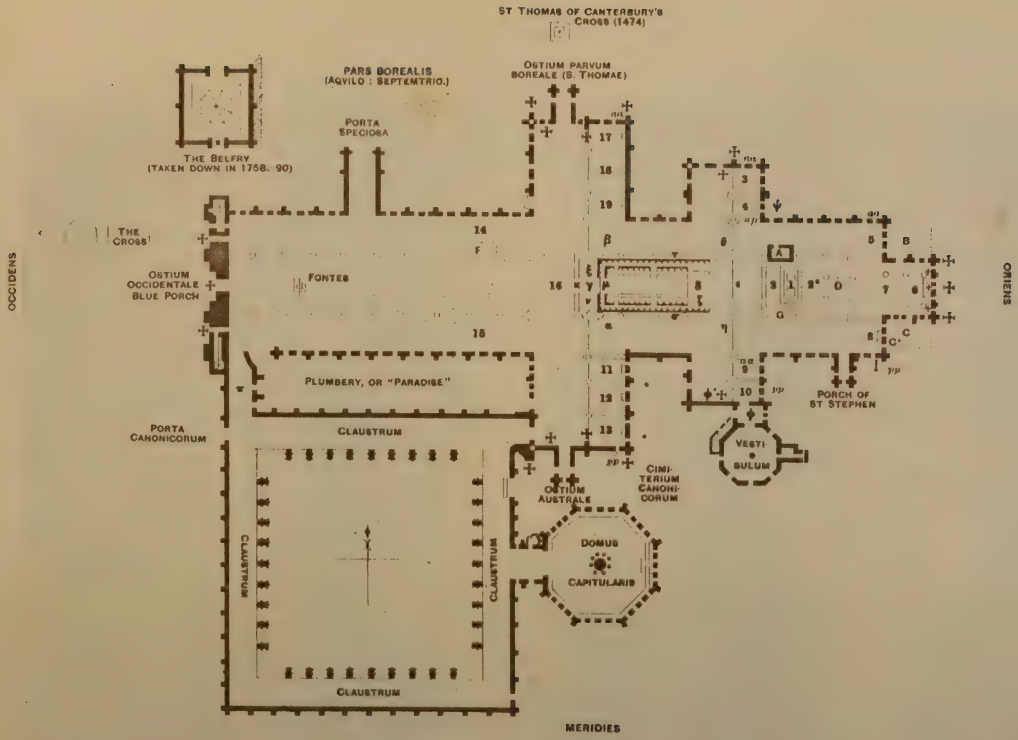
formation on the subject of vestments. The famous fifteenth-century picture of the Mass of St. Giles, which represents the high altar of the abbey church of Saint-Denis, near Paris, shows us an altar covered on the top with a fair linen cloth. The only ornament upon the altar itself is the cushion on which the missal rests. The only light visible is the tall taper held by the serving monk who holds up the end of St. Giles' chasuble at the moment of consecration. The front of the altar is covered by a rich frontal with a narrow frontlet overhanging the upper part. Behind it is a splendid retable in three panels, with our Lord in majesty in the middle, on the top of which rises a huge jewelled cross. On either side are curtains on rods: that on the south is altogether drawn back, showing the tomb of king Dagobert and the statue of his queen, while that on the north is held back by a monk, to allow the king, who kneels at a *prie-dieu* near the altar, to see. On the pillar at the north-east corner of the altar is a large figure of a kneeling angel; while we see into the apse beyond, in the centre of which, immediately behind the jewelled cross, is the tall canopy, on four columns, of the shrine of Saint-Louis. The picture represents a mass said in the eighth century in the presence of Charles Martel, five hundred years before the days of Saint-Louis: the splendid retable of goldsmith's work is evidently a faithful copy of the altar-frontal of gold which was given to the church by Charles Martel's descendant, Charles the Bald, and was afterwards used in this position. The altar with its architectural surroundings is seen as the fifteenth-century artist knew it; and the picture is our most valuable guide to the arrangement of medieval altars which was general in the west.

A well-known picture of an English altar is the drawing of the high altar at Westminster in the roll which was taken round to other monasteries to announce the death of abbot Islip in 1532. Here a plain altar with a frontal and without side-curtains is shown against the screen, with a door on either side, which divided the chancel from the Confessor's chapel. Behind the altar is a small panel with a representation of the Crucifixion with St. Mary and St. John. On the top of the screen is a reliquary with images of St. Peter and St. Paul on either side. Higher up, on a beam crossing the church, is the great rood or crucifix, flanked by St. Mary and St. John and figures of seraphs standing on wheels: the broad arms of the cross are continued, for the sake of stability, as an upper beam. Between the rood-beam and the top of the screen is a hanging tester or flat canopy projecting over the altar, and from its front part is suspended the vessel, draped with a veil, which contained the Blessed Sacrament, reserved primarily for the use of the sick. The custom of hanging the reserved Sacrament above the altar in this way was universal in England, although the alternative use of keeping it in a locked cupboard near the altar came in during the later middle ages: we read, for example, at Durham of the canopied vessel or pyx above the high altar, covered with a sumptuous cloth and surmounted by the symbolical figure of the pelican feeding its young with its own blood.

§ 12. The most beautiful example of a medieval reredos or altar-screen which remains in England is the screen at Beverley, with which is combined the platform for St. John's shrine. The western face of this has been entirely restored, but the east side, with

WELLS CATHEDRAL
View of the Chapter House.

Plate xvi.



PLAN OF SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. *Plate xvii.*

Showing position of Chapels and Altars

(from Wordsworth's "Salisbury Processions and Ceremonies.")

a deep vaulted recess beneath the platform, is one of the crowning triumphs of fourteenth-century work, when English sculpture and tracery were at their loveliest and lightest point, if they had lost something of their earlier vigour. More imposing, but of a more formal type of work, is the Neville screen (*c.* 1380), popularly called the " French peere " (i.e. *franche pierre*, freestone), between the high altar and St. Cuthbert's shrine at Durham. The tall screens at Winchester and St. Albans, of the fifteenth century, with great crucifixes as their central feature and canopied niches for statuary, rise as high as the bottom of the clerestory windows and quite shut off any view of the feretory or chapel of the saint behind them ; and at Southwark the altar-screen fills up the whole space below the east window. The same treatment of the altar-screen as a wall for statuary occurs in a few non-cathedral churches, as at Sherborne abbey, Christchurch priory, and the collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary : at All Souls', Magdalen and New colleges at Oxford, there is a logical reason for it, as the east wall of the chapel is a windowless partition-wall between it and the hall. The late Gothic screen at Chichester is a high wooden structure, recently restored to its position ; but a modern reredos has been placed in front of it, with an effect somewhat different from its original intention.

§ 13. The reredos of the high altar was thus habitually treated as a screen, forming a partition between it and the eastern portions of the church. Where, as at Winchester, it becomes a high wall, the effect in perspective is to hide everything behind it and below the sill of the east window, which is actually a bay to the east of it. This is in keeping with the general principle,

applied to all altars with a window behind them, that the height of the reredos is limited by the sill of the window. We see this, for example, in the mutilated reredos of the Lady chapel at Gloucester. The little reredos of bishop Oldham's chapel at Exeter, typical of many which have disappeared, consists of a triple panel of sculpture beneath the sill of the east window. The reredos, therefore, whether it is part of the wall behind the altar or is detached from it, forms part of one architectural composition with it. It should be noted, however, that the sculptured stone reredos was not the only type. Many retables were of other materials. We have seen the golden altar-front of Saint-Denis used as a retable in the later middle ages. At Norwich the painted wooden retable, enriched with *gesso* or gilded plasterwork in relief, of the Jesus chapel is still preserved, a beautiful example of the local art of painting which reached high perfection here and in the screenwork of many East Anglian churches. Often, too, the minor altars of a great church must have followed the common custom which substituted an embroidered curtain or super-frontal for the retable or reredos. The long altar, with its frontal and frontlet, its super-frontal at the back and riddels or costers at the sides, had a singular dignity of appearance. The frontal, like the vestments of the clergy, varied in colour according to the season. Of the colours used nothing need be said here: the question of the different sequences of colours used in England and the general conclusions to be derived from them have been discussed exhaustively by Sir William Hope and Mr. Atchley in their work upon *English Liturgical Colours*.

§ 14. It has been said that the throne and seats

for the clergy were transferred from the back of the altar to the sides of the chancel. The seats or *sedilia* for the celebrant and his assistants were near the altar upon the south side, where also was the *piscina*, called in English the lavatory, for use at the ablutions. Usually they were three in number, for celebrant, deacon and subdeacon, as in the beautiful fourteenth-century example at Exeter. The wooden *sedilia* at Beverley are four in number, and there are four at Gloucester: in the eastern chapel at Southwell there are five. The *sedilia* at Durham, which belong to the same date as the altar-screen, are repeated upon the north side of the chancel. The north side, however, was habitually left clear of permanent seats. Here was often in the arch north of the altar the tomb of some prelate or other person to whom the church owed its splendour. At Exeter bishop Stapeldon was buried north of the high altar which he reared; and the tomb of his predecessor of more than a century earlier, Henry Marshall, a bay to the west, probably occupied a similar position in the church which he appears to have completed and enlarged about 1200. In the chancel of Gloucester, early in the sixteenth century, a monument to Osric, the Saxon founder of the church, was placed in the position of honour near the altar, the next bay being occupied by the shrine of Edward II. It was on the north side of the chancel, close to the monument which was, or took the place of, the "founder's tomb," that the Easter sepulchre was set up for its part in the ceremonies of Holy Week and Easter morning. Usually this was a movable structure or a pyx of precious material in which the Host was put during the period corresponding to our Lord's sojourn in the grave, and

it was probably deposited beneath the canopy of the tomb. At Lincoln, however, there remains a long canopied tomb, with six arched openings towards the chancel and a wall at the back next the aisle, of which the western half was the tomb proper, while the eastern half, with sculptured panels representing the sleeping soldiers below, was used as the Easter sepulchre.

§ 15. The chancel, as a whole, was divided from the aisles by screens in the bays which were not occupied by the *sedilia* or tombs. The stone screens remain, for example, at Winchester, crowned by the series of reliquaries in which bishop Foxe (1501–28) caused the bones of the early saints and benefactors of the church to be placed. In many churches, however, the spaces below the arches were gradually filled by tombs. Thus at Canterbury, the three bays from the altar to the upper gates of the choir are occupied on the south side by the tombs of archbishops Sudbury (1375–81), Stratford (1333–48), and Kempe (1452–4). Opposite Sudbury's tomb, on the north side, is that of archbishop Bourchier (1454–86) : the next bay is vacant, but to Kempe's tomb corresponds that of archbishop Chichele (1414–43). Similarly, in the arcades east of the altar, which surrounded the shrine of St. Thomas, the tombs of the Black Prince and Henry IV are in opposite bays ; while in the bay east of the Black Prince's tomb is the monument of archbishop Courtenay (1381–96). With the arrangement at Canterbury may be compared the three tombs of Aveline of Lancaster, Aymer de Valence and Edmund of Lancaster on the north side of the chancel at Westminster, and the splendid array of royal monuments, culminating at the east end in Henry V's tomb and chapel, which gird the Confessor's

shrine. Of all chancel tombs perhaps the most beautiful is that of Eleanor, lady Percy, on the north side of the altar at Beverley, contemporary with the reredos and in close connexion with it; while perhaps the most perfect illustration of the enclosure of a chancel by tombs is the fine series of monuments and chantry-chapels at Tewkesbury.

§ 16. The bays of the chancel west of the altar, varying in number, formed a clear space, which gave ample room for stately ritual and for assistant clergy and servers at mass. This space was commonly known as the presbytery. In the bay west of it, distinguished from it by a step in the floor, were the upper gates of the choir, and, west of these, the stalls for the choir, occupying more or fewer bays, as the numbers of the foundation made necessary.

§ 17. The choir was enclosed on three sides, on the north and south by screens which shut it off from the aisles, on the west by a transverse screen dividing it from the nave. At Canterbury traceried stone screens, made about 1304–5 upon bases of earlier work, shut in the choir on north and south: at Lincoln, again, the arcaded stone walls at the back of the choir stalls are of various dates in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. Against such walls the wooden choir stalls were set upon stone foundations. Generally, however, only the western screen, of which more hereafter, was of stone, and the division from the aisles was formed by the backs of the canopied stalls standing upon their high stone base. At Carlisle the backs still retain their medieval paintings of scenes from the lives of saints. The stalls were returned at the west end on either side of the doorway in the choir-screen,

so that the choir was an enclosed chapel for the services of the foundation. A unique arrangement is found at St. Davids, where a light wooden screen crosses the east end of the choir, separating it from the presbytery. This is paralleled by the metal screens or *rejas* which occur in this position in Spanish churches; but it is doubtful whether the screen at St. Davids was really intended to stand here, and it may have been removed from an original position west of the stone choir-screen.

§ 18. Choirs of English cathedral churches have been freely restored and altered, and in many the appearance of the stalls has been greatly modernised. Still, a large amount of fourteenth and fifteenth-century work is left; and sometimes, where the canopy-work has been destroyed or renewed, as at Exeter, Salisbury, Wells and Worcester, the old seats or portions of them have escaped destruction. Of stallwork earlier than the fourteenth century remains are fragmentary; for the early fittings of choirs were very generally superseded by more elaborate furniture in the later middle ages. The fine series of seats at Exeter, however, was probably made about 1230, and at Winchester, where the canopy-work appears to have been added as early as 1300–20, the seats are earlier. The simple canopies of the thirteenth century are illustrated by the fragments, consisting of long wooden shafts with carved capitals, now made up with later woodwork into a double seat in the north transept at Peterborough. In later times, craftsmen in wood expended their best work upon the magnificent tabernacled canopies which covered the upper rows of stalls. The splendid series at Lincoln and Chester belong to the end of the fourteenth century; the stalls at Gloucester are some-

what earlier. Those at Norwich and Carlisle belong to the early part of the fifteenth; while those at St. Davids, Ripon, Manchester and Beverley were made during the latest and most luxuriant period of Gothic craftsmanship, at various dates between 1470 and 1520, to which period also belong the superb stalls at St. George's, Windsor (*c.* 1480) and in Henry VII's chapel at Westminster (*c.* 1509). The series of stalls at Chichester, Ely, Hereford and Winchester has been impaired by the removal of the original western screen; and this has happened also at Carlisle and Chester and in the case of the late seventeenth-century stalls at Durham and St. Paul's. At Durham the north and south rows, remade after the Restoration, are fine examples of the survival of Gothic tradition in a later age.

§ 19. On each side and at the west end of the choir the stalls were arranged in rows on steps, one above another, with staired gangways which broke the lower rows into blocks and ascended to the continuous upper rows. In monastic cathedral churches the upper stall on the south side next the choir doorway was reserved for the bishop, who nominally took the place of an abbot: in the corresponding stall on the north side sat the prior, the real head of the monastery. The other stalls were occupied by the monks according to seniority. In secular churches, for the most part, the stalls appropriated to the abbot and prior in monasteries were filled by the dean and precentor, the two chief dignitaries of the chapter; while the extreme eastern stalls on the south and north sides were those of the chancellor and treasurer respectively. This arrangement varied, as such chapters, though conforming to one general pattern,

were not always uniform. The stalls of the upper row between these four corner seats were those of the canons, each of them appropriated to the special prebend from which the canon who occupied it derived his income. Below these, in the second row, sat the vicars or canons' deputies, and the row below, known as the "second form," was the place for the clerks attached to the church and the various inferior ministers. Of these persons and the part which they played in the life of the church more will be said in the concluding chapters. In the middle of the choir were the lectern from which the lessons were read at matins and desks for the rulers of the choir, who, clad in copes, directed the chanting at mass and the offices. The place for the rulers of the choir at Lincoln is marked by a stone in the floor, inscribed "Cantate hic" (Sing ye here).

§ 20. Between the end of the choir and the upper choir gate on the south side was the bishop's throne. This was to be found in monastic as well as secular churches; for the abbot's stall, which at Ely, however, was his only seat, was assigned to the bishop merely as the honorary chief of the monastery, not as ruler of the diocese. The most noble seat for a bishop which remains is the great throne of stone at Durham, built by bishop Hatfield (1345–81) above the tomb which he prepared for himself in his lifetime. This gallery or *pulpitum* for the bishop, in which he sat with his household chaplains, was a fitting throne for a prelate who was a temporal prince in the county of Durham and its outlying appendages. The normal throne, however, was a canopied seat. Bishops' thrones have suffered many vicissitudes, and a large number are modern imitations of medieval work superseding Re-

naissance structures, as at Canterbury; while at Wells the medieval throne has been injudiciously treated by the restorer. But at Exeter the wooden throne, with its spired canopy 57 feet high, constructed in the time of bishop Stapeldon (1308–26), has survived destruction; and the thrones at Hereford and St. Davids are good examples of medieval woodwork. It should be noted that at Ripon and Southwell there were no thrones before the foundation of the modern sees. In these churches, and at Beverley, although they were regarded as standing in the position of cathedrals for certain parts of the diocese of York, the constitution of the chapters was peculiar and differed in several respects from the usual type. The archbishop of York appears to have had the south-west stall of the choir reserved to him, in the place usually filled by the dean, while the senior canon of the chapter sat in the stall opposite; and the archbishop's only throne was in his metropolitan church at York.

§ 21. The screen at the west end of the choir was a broad stone structure, with a doorway in the middle and a loft or *pulpitum* on the top, entered by stairs in the body of the screen. On the loft or in a gallery which formed an extension of it was the organ, not the vast instrument of modern times, but one of sufficient size to furnish an accompaniment to the plain-song chant in choir. The loft was used principally for ritual purposes: there was generally an altar in it, and on the great festivals the epistle and gospel were sung from it. We may remark that this custom, for which the wide stairs and broad space at the top afforded plenty of room, was never applied to the ordinary rood-lofts of parish churches, which would have been very

inconvenient for such a practice; and in the greater churches the choir-screen was so used only upon special occasions. Usually, the epistle and gospel were read at the west end of the chancel, near the upper gates. In secular churches the great rood or crucifix, with statues of St. Mary and St. John on either side, stood upon a beam above the loft, which also supported prickets for tapers and sometimes figures of seraphs.

The damage done by the removal of choir-screens cannot sufficiently be deplored, and the light modern screens, especially the elaborate works of metal which have taken their places in several cathedral churches, are no substitute for structures which have perished. When we reflect that at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Romanesque choir-screen of Ely was still standing, or look at the beautiful remains of the former screen of Salisbury, a work whose sculpture is as refined and vigorous as that of the contemporary Angel choir at Lincoln, we wonder at the blindness and folly which allowed or contemplated their entire or partial destruction. Much wiser than the chapters and architects who combined to break down the natural division between distinct parts of the church which cannot be satisfactorily used together were those who, in faithfulness to old custom, made the present screen of Gloucester in 1820 and the screen, now removed, of Peterborough in 1828. These structures were primarily organ-screens, and that at Peterborough was placed in a position east of the crossing, which cramped choir and chancel; but they had the merit of preserving a tradition which the architects of the next generation did their best to destroy. It is only fair to the latter, however, to observe that they had to work in difficult circumstances, and

that much medieval work, as well as dignified work of a later period, had disappeared during the constant changes, not only in the furniture, but even in the position of choirs. Fortunately, however, a certain number of old screens have been preserved. Of these, the screens of Exeter, Lincoln, Southwell and St. Davids are of the earlier part of the fourteenth century, beautiful in their variety of design and detail. The screen of Canterbury, the effect of which is enhanced by the long flight of steps in front of it, is a noble work of the very beginning of the fifteenth century; while those of York, Ripon and Glasgow are a hundred years later. The fourteenth-century screen of Wells and the fifteenth-century screen at Norwich were considerably altered and remodelled by the architect Salvin, who was also responsible for the canopied stalls of the choir at Wells; and the remarkable screen at Rochester, the western face of which was originally plain, was entirely changed in character some thirty to forty years ago by the insertion of canopied niches with statues. In eight of these instances the screens are beneath the eastern tower-arch, and it is possible that their structural value to the piers upon either side of them has prevented their demolition.

§ 22. On each side of the doorway of the choir-screen, facing the nave, was an altar: the beautiful screen at Southwell was so constructed that the altars stood in deep recesses beneath the loft. Behind the altars rose the solid wall of the screen: at Exeter the sides have been pierced with openings above the uncanopied stalls behind, but this was not originally the case. In one instance, at St. Davids, the tomb of the bishop responsible for the work is beneath the loft,

at the south end of the screen, and, fine though it is in itself, the arch by which it opens to the nave breaks the unity of the design. These altars were enclosed, of course, by wooden fence-screens, and, when the whole structure glittered with colour, the effect must have been magnificent.

§ 23. We have seen that in monastic churches a second screen crossed the nave a bay west of the choir-screen, and above this, where it existed, was the great rood. The rood-screen of the monastic cathedral of Durham is described in the *Rites of Durham*, a tract written after the suppression of the monastery by one who remembered the church in its former glory. Against its western face, towards the nave, was the Jesus or rood-altar, enclosed within screenwork, with a magnificent reredos: on either side of the altar were the doorways through which the procession passed on its way back to the choir; and high above the screen rose the "greatest and fairest rood in all the land" with its attendant figures of St. Mary and St. John. Unfortunately, there is no instance among monastic churches now in use of the survival of both choir-screen and rood-screen. At St. Albans, where the loft was over the space between the two screens, as sometimes occurred—at Norwich, for example, the present choir-screen consists of an outer and inner wall, with the interval roofed over by the loft—the rood-screen alone is left, a beautiful piece of work of the fourteenth century, against which the nave-altar stands in the proper position.

§ 24. The altars and screenwork with which the naves of our cathedral churches were furnished were swept away after the Reformation, and to-day only

traces of their position can be recovered, where the restorer has not obliterated them. On the north side of the nave at St. Albans paintings of the Crucifixion upon the old plaster of the massive piers still show where altars stood beneath the arches; and, as we have noted, a beautiful chantry-chapel in a similar position has here and there escaped destruction, as at Wells and Winchester. If altars, however, have been destroyed, documents relating to them have survived and in many cases have been printed or examined carefully for purposes of description; so that the position of, at any rate, the more important chapels and altars in our cathedrals can be recovered.

§ 25. The main entrance to the nave for the laity was generally by a doorway on one side of the church, in monastic churches on the side opposite the cloister. The west doorway was used only on special occasions, for example, at the procession on Palm Sunday, when it started from a tent or pavilion pitched outside the west end, and the bishop, clergy and choir came through the doorway into the nave, to the music of *Gloria, laus et honor*. When a bishop came to be enthroned or to hold a visitation of his church, he was received by the chapter and choir at the west doorway and escorted by the senior clergy to the fald-stool prepared for him at the high altar.

§ 26. The last piece of furniture to be noticed is the font. At first sight, it would seem that in cathedral churches which were not parish churches a font was not necessary, as the bodies to which they belonged were composed of celibate clergy. At the same time, a cathedral church is usually, in point of foundation, the oldest church in the town, and has often had parochial

rights to begin with which were transferred, as time went on, to parish churches built in its neighbourhood; and further, the precincts of the church often constituted a separate liberty, within which were a certain number of lay people connected with the services of the church. Lincoln and Winchester possess fine twelfth-century fonts of a black touchstone which is said to have been imported from the Low countries, and, although the older fonts have in several places been destroyed or removed, some remain. A font of a type common in East Anglia, with representations of the seven Sacraments on its sides, is now in the south-east chapel of the apse at Norwich. At Peterborough the present font appears to have been the laver which stood in the middle of the cloister, but the church, originally parochial as well as monastic, always had its font. While those of some of our cathedrals are, like many of the pulpits of naves and choirs, the offspring of the Gothic revival, others, like that of Exeter, first used for the baptism of a daughter of Charles I, and Beverley, are handsome seventeenth-century work of a classical type; and the modern font at Durham is covered by a magnificent wooden canopy, combining Renaissance details with strong medieval feeling, which belongs to the refurnishing of the church, under the influence of bishop Cosin, in the seventeenth century. The small vase-shaped font of the same period, which formerly stood beneath it, is now in the parish church at Pittington, a few miles away.

CHAPTER IV

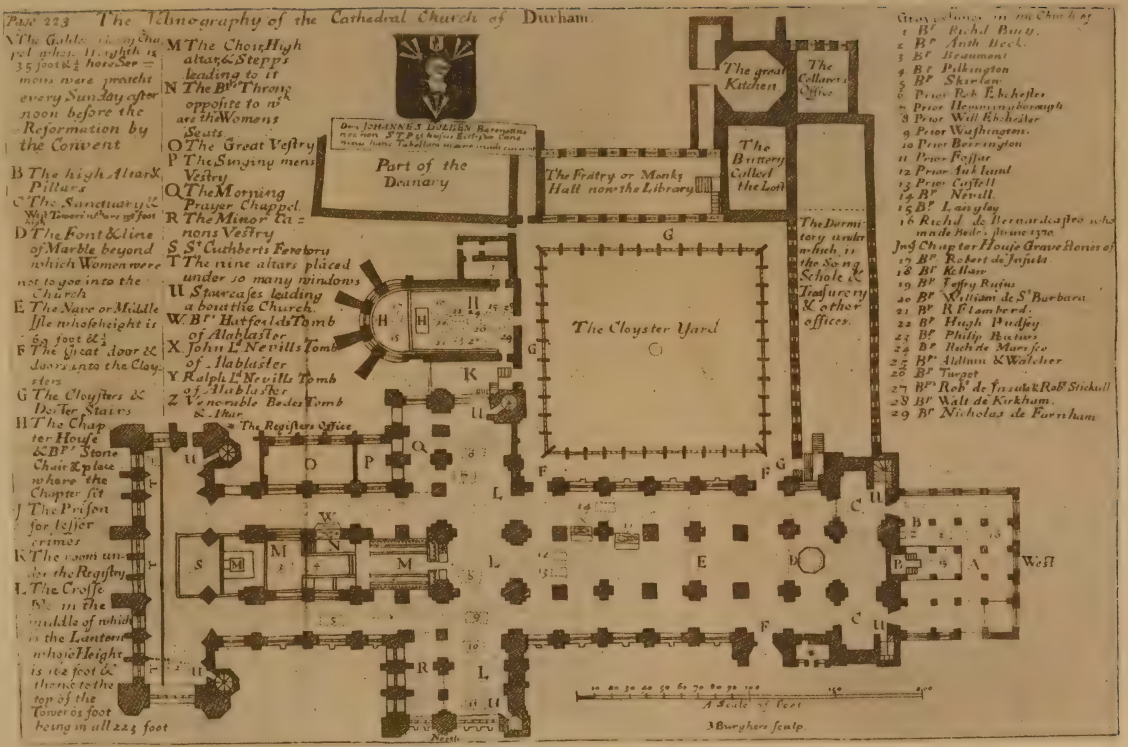
THE BUILDING OF CATHEDRAL CHURCHES

§ 1. Records of the building of our great churches are somewhat irregular and defective. Notices in chronicles often supply helpful dates: a disastrous fire from which a church suffered, the fall of a tower, the dedication of a new high altar, the presence of royalty at the hallowing of a new building, were matters which, if they reached his ears, a monastic annalist would be sure to note down. But, with few exceptions, these casual allusions are rather barren. They throw little or no light upon the methods of setting about the construction of a church, the raising of funds, the hiring of workmen, and the system of operations when once the work was begun. Moreover, if any individual name is mentioned in connexion with it, it is generally the name of a bishop or abbot who was active in promoting it and consequently gets all the credit for it. Thus, in the interesting account by one of the Durham chroniclers of the building of the Galilee or Lady chapel, bishop Puiset becomes the chief agent in the proceeding. To the writer of more than a century later, his name has obscured all others; the idea and its completion in stone are alike his.

§ 2. In this way a vague tradition has arisen which connects the names of the chief rulers of a see or mon-

astery with the actual design of the buildings which came into being under their influence. With Salisbury we associate Richard Poore; with Winchester Walkelin and William of Wykeham. The name of St. Hugh is inseparable from the choir at Lincoln: the inscription upon the tomb-slab of bishop Wakefield at Worcester bids us look aloft at the vault of the nave which he constructed. At Exeter a succession of munificent bishops have stamped their memory upon the gradual rebuilding which took place during the fourteenth century. It is hardly surprising that these men have acquired a reputation as architects, and that their interest in and benefactions to the work have led to the popular notion that they personally designed their churches and supervised their erection after the manner of a modern lay architect.

§ 3. Common sense, on the other hand, forbids us to suppose that the great designs, of which almost every cathedral provides an example, were conceived or carried out by men who had not been specially trained to the practice of architecture and were not able to devote their lives to it. If medieval bishops and clergy had any such training, our knowledge of their early careers tells us nothing of it, while the records of their activity in their dioceses and in public affairs suggest that, if they practised the art, it was as the hobby of their leisure moments. A taste and skill picked up casually and followed as a diversion may have very pretty results, but do not produce great masterpieces. Further, even if we assume that bishops were architects, making their own plans and drawings gratis and paying liberally for the work which followed, we have also to take into account the fact that the actual owners or occupants


Page 223 The Ichnography of the Cathedral Church of Durham.
The great Kitchen
The Cellarer's Office
The Buttery Called the Loft
Part of the Deanary
The Fratry or Monks Hall now the Library
The Dormitory under which is the Song Schole & Treasurery & other offices.
The Cloyster Yard
The Registers Office
West
A Scale of Feet
J Burghers sculp.

PLAN OF THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF DURHAM.

(from Browne Willis.)

Plate xviii.

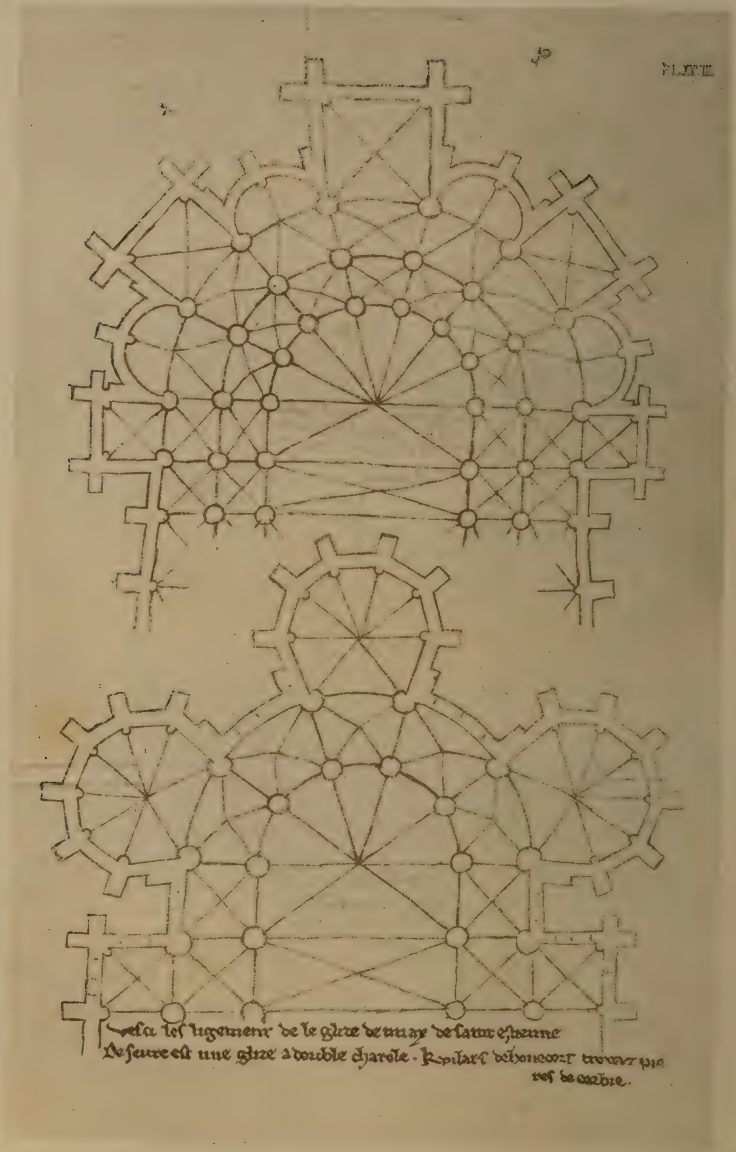


PLATE
Vela les ingenieus de le glize de muy de latin eſtreme
De faire eſt une glize a double charole. Wilars de honecort trovast pie
ref de marbre.

Drawings by a Master Mason. *Plate xix.*

1. PLANS OF APSES

(from the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort.)

of a cathedral church were either the prior and convent or the dean and chapter. Were bishops, then, the official unpaid architects to their chapters, and were deans and priors incapable of architectural design? Chapters were notoriously jealous of episcopal interference, and we may reasonably ask ourselves whether a bishop, whose visitations of his cathedral were hedged about with precautions against any infringement of chapter privileges, would have been allowed a free hand with the fabric of the church. Here and there, however, the name of a dean, and still more often that of a prior, is connected with certain parts of a cathedral; and at Canterbury itself, although Lanfranc is generally regarded as the builder of the early Norman church, its later developments are closely bound up with the names of the priors who were the actual rulers of the convent and the church.

§ 4. We are fortunate in possessing two accounts, each written by a contemporary, of the growth of the church of Canterbury at two separate periods after the Norman Conquest. The first, by Eadmer, is mainly of topographical value, and enables us to reconstruct the church as Lanfranc left it from details which are in places somewhat obscure. Of the process of repair and rebuilding under Lanfranc we hear little that helps us in the main object of our inquiry: we know merely the state in which he found it and the results of his work. The narrative by Gervase of the rebuilding of the choir after the fire of 1174 is very different; for here the actual process of construction is recorded in detail. The first thing to notice is that the preliminary steps to rebuilding were taken by the monks themselves. The fire took place on 5th September: a new

archbishop, Richard of Dover, had been consecrated in the previous April, but it was not to him that the convent went for advice and help. When they had recovered a little from their grief, they called in skilful artists (*artifices*) and heard what they had to say. In fact, like a modern city corporation putting its work out to tender, they invited competitive estimates. The charred stonework of the "glorious choir of Conrad," completed less than fifty years before, was still standing. Some of the artists said that it could be preserved, others advised its destruction; and, between the two opinions, the monks did not know what to say. The catastrophe had left them timid and spiritless. At last, they found a trustworthy counsellor in William of Sens, a Burgundian craftsman skilful in wood and stonework, and of approved character. After making a thorough survey of the building, he came to the conclusion that it must be destroyed, but, with great tact, waited to give his opinion until he found that the monks were getting more accustomed to their misfortune. His report was received with confidence, and, taking charge of the work, he sent for stone from beyond seas, got together masons, and made all necessary preparations for the carriage of stone and the cutting of it when it arrived. Within four years from the fire, he completed the western part of the new choir and the transept between it and the high altar; but, while he was supervising the necessary preliminaries for the construction of the vault at the transept crossing, the scaffolding on which he stood gave way and he fell to the ground fifty feet below. He was permanently disabled in consequence and eventually had to go home. Meanwhile, however, he directed operations from his

bed, deputing the personal oversight to a monk who was in charge of the masons and had skill and industry, more, indeed, than his subordinates liked. When William finally retired, another artist took his place, William the Englishman, who in 1184 brought the magnificent design which we see to-day to completion.

§ 5. There is much else in this story that is interesting, but its great value consists in the groups of persons which it brings before us, and the proof which it affords of a systematic division of labour. There are, first, the monks, the prior and convent, who are the employers, looking out for an architect who will repair or rebuild their church. There are the *artifices* who come at their invitation, skilled artists whose profession is architecture, laymen trained to masoncraft and design. The selected architect has special qualifications: he understands engineering and stone-carving with equal intelligence. There are, thirdly, the masons who work under him, carvers and sculptors whom he supplies with moulds and patterns for their work. Lastly, there is the supervisor of the masons, a monk with architectural knowledge, who is the representative of the employers and is the intermediary between them and the workmen. There is no hint that he is the architect: when William of Sens falls ill, he receives his directions and communicates them to the masons, but, when William has to retire altogether, the new architect is a professional man who continues and completes the work with certain modifications and individual touches of his own.

§ 6. Keeping this in mind, we may pass over two hundred years to the building of the great choir of York, begun in 1361. Here we have the account-rolls

to go upon, with minute details of materials and their cost. The archbishop contributes largely to the new work: the church is his spouse whom he is bound to provide with suitable raiment. The actual employers of labour, however, are the dean and chapter. One of the canons is probably "master of the fabric," controlling the building-fund; but his duties are delegated to two clerks of the fabric or of the works, vicars-choral or chantry-priests elected by the chapter. They have to pay the masons, to see that the rules drawn up for the conduct of the "lodge" or workshop close to the cathedral are kept, to hear disputes between the workmen and exercise judicial authority over them, punishing the refractory and arresting runaways. Each of them keeps a roll of accounts: the second clerk is the comptroller (*contrarotulator*), who checks from his own roll that of his companion. They are the supervisors of the masons: their business is administrative, judicial and financial. Then come the master-workmen, the master-mason and, almost as important, the master-carpenter. They are in close touch with the clerks of the works, from whom they receive their daily pay; but their business is executive. The master-mason is, in fact, the architect: he brings together the masons, with whom he works and whose work he directs. He has a house in the close and receives a yearly pension or corrody from the chapter. He is a person of some importance in the world. Early in the fifteenth century (1407) Henry IV sends his master-mason, William of Colchester, to take charge of the works at York: later on the dean and chapter induce William Hyndlee to come from Norwich, paying the expenses of him and his family and defraying the costs of a law-suit which he

has incurred, possibly for breach of contract on the prospect of a higher wage. Next are the masons, carvers who are trained to manipulate freestone and sculpture it into moulded surfaces, figures and foliage, or to cut arch-stones and lengths of tracery accurately. Below these are the "wallers and setters," builders of foundations and walls, "rough masons" as distinct from the freemasons who deal with freestone. There are also the workers in wood under the master-carpenter, and, in addition to these, there is the humblest class of labourers, who fetch and carry for the operative workmen, unloading stone from the barges which bring it from the quarries, carrying lime and sand, and making themselves generally useful.

§ 7. This obviously is nothing but an extended description of the process which Gervase relates at Canterbury. Offices in connexion with it may have become multiplied in the course of years, but its essential parts are those which Gervase sets in relief for us. Wherever we have any information about building, the persons concerned are regularly graded: there are the employers, the officials who represent the employers as wardens of the fabric fund and paymasters, the master-mason or architect, and the masons who work under him. As at Canterbury in 1178, so at Ely in 1322, there was an ingenious monk with special knowledge of architecture. We need not credit Alan of Walsingham with the executive skill of a trained artist, but he may at least be allowed the conception, in itself a remarkable piece of genius, of the octagon which took the place of the fallen central tower. The actual carrying-out of the idea, however, was doubtless entrusted to the master-mason, John atte Grene.

§ 8. Examining the subject a little more closely, we may distinguish certain leading features. The general supervision of the work was delegated, as we have seen, by the employers to one or more of their number. In a monastery, this was, as at Ely, the sacrist, or sometimes a special master of the works (*magister fabricae*, *operis* or *operum*), who was usually assisted by another monk as comptroller. In secular churches the practice varied. At York, we have said, the offices of clerk of the works and comptroller were deputed to two of the inferior clergy. At Exeter, where the long series of fabric rolls supplies an immense amount of varied information, the system is not quite so clear. In 1280 one of the vicars choral was clerk of the works, with the master-mason as his associate, and it is possible that this arrangement continued permanently, as in later rolls only one *custos operis* is habitually mentioned. The system at Lincoln was to elect two canons yearly as masters of the fabric, while the clerk of the fabric under them was one of the clerks in minor orders attached to the church, like the chapter-clerk, the clerk of the common fund, and the clerk who kept the rolls of residence. This arrangement prevailed also at Salisbury, where to-day the office is shared by the dean and one of the residentiary canons. At Wells we hear early of the wardens of the fabric, with a master of the fabric under them, whom it is difficult to distinguish from the master-mason; but the later master of the fabric was not a mason, but a canon or vicar-choral, and the wardens are no longer mentioned. After the Reformation one of the residentiaries became master, a custom which still prevails at Hereford.

§ 9. By the fabric is meant not so much the building

itself as the permanent fund allotted to its support. Every parish church had its own fund of this kind, known as the "church works," for the safe keeping and administration of which two wardens were appointed. The money, however, continually augmented by bequests from parishioners, was used, not only for repairs to the church, but for other necessary expenses which the parish had to meet from time to time. The "church works" or "fabric" thus became a permanent fund for parochial purposes under control of the two churchwardens, its official keepers; and occasionally, when a large piece of building was undertaken which could not be paid for out of the ordinary fund, a special temporary fund was started under "wardens of the new work." A cathedral "works" or fabric fund was an exactly similar institution upon a larger scale, fed by contributions from every part of the diocese. Apart from large individual benefactions, such as those of bishop Stapeldon and archbishop Thoresby to the new buildings at Exeter and York respectively, there were the constant legacies to the mother church of the diocese of which almost every medieval will furnishes an example. The keepers of the fabric were in effect the cathedral churchwardens, and, though the title of churchwardens was specially applied at Southwell to the keepers of the common fund, there were also two keepers of the "works." On the other hand, while the expenses of repairs to an ordinary parish church were comparatively slight, and the fabric fund would generally allow of a margin for other objects, the greater churches, even when no building was in progress, demanded constant attention; and each cathedral had its regular staff of masons whose wages were paid from this source.

The fund, however, was partly devoted to a further purpose which, in the medieval mind, was inseparable from its main object. Each contribution or bequest gave the donor a right to be remembered in the prayers of the church. Masses were said daily for the souls of benefactors at special altars in the building, and the chantry-priests appointed to this office received their stipends from the "works." At Lincoln, for example, there were four such priests, and the chapel in the south transept, which was set apart for their masses, is still known as the "works chantry." While the amount spent upon actual building and repairs varied from year to year, and the staff of masons at ordinary times would be much smaller than when any important work was in progress, the wages of chantry-priests and masons were a permanent yearly charge upon the fund.

§ 10. It may be presumed that the administrators of the fabric were not chosen without some regard to their special fitness for the task of looking after the management of an architectural undertaking. Business qualities and financial ability, however, were the main requisites. It is possible that some of them possessed architectural taste and judgment, that they could explain to the masons the type of design which was wanted, and that they could criticise it when completed and suggest modifications. Others must have acquired knowledge from their contact with the work. Occasionally there are signs that certain clerks were able to give competent advice which had some influence upon design. Elias of Dereham, the canon of Salisbury who is often quoted as the "architect" of Salisbury cathedral, is found in other contexts which indicate that he was specially interested in building. The

evidence, however, does not allow us to say more than this. In one famous instance of a clerk whose love of fine architecture cannot be doubted, the existing evidence has been used as the foundation for assumptions for which there is no actual proof. William of Wykeham, for some years during his early career, supervised the king's masons at Windsor and other castles, and later, as bishop of Winchester, he was a munificent patron of building work. It is certainly probable that his advancement in the service of Edward III was due to his special capacity for dealing with such operations; but his interest in building and the talent for selecting able workmen and controlling them financially and with proper discipline, which are all that can be gathered from documentary sources, do not justify the conclusion that he was an architect. His education, so far as we know anything of it, was that of an ordinary clerk, trained in government offices. His direct association with the king's "works" lasted only for a time, after which he was transferred to higher appointments in the state. As clerk of the king's works, he held a position the duties of which at no time required the training of an architect: Chaucer, who held it at a later date, has just as much claim to the title of architect as Wykeham. Finally, Wykeham himself in his last will, providing for the continuation of the nave of Winchester cathedral after his death, distinguishes quite clearly between the offices of clerk of the works and architect. His legacy of 2,500 marks is to be administered by a clerk, one of his own household, on behalf of his executors, and by another clerk on behalf of the prior and convent. These are the supervisors, clerk and comptroller of the work; but the actual

direction of it is entrusted to William Wynford, one of the best known masons of the day, whose training and occupation were purely architectural.

§ 11. The medieval architect was the chief of the working masons, acting under the supervision of the officials of the fabric and in consultation with them. He differed from the modern architect, whose designs are carried out by others; for he not only supplied designs but directed their execution by his own practical example. The term architect was not unknown in the middle ages: examples of its use are not uncommon, especially in foreign countries where traditions of Roman culture lasted longer than in England. But habitually words are used which show the close connexion between the architect and the art of building. "Master" (*magister*) is the widest term, implying a master-builder or mason. When, at the close of the tenth century, the abbot William of Volpiano, a native of Lombardy, was setting about the building of his church of St.-Bénigne at Dijon, he hired "masters" to carry out the work for which he gave his orders. These, no doubt, were masters in more than one art, not only in architecture, but in painting, metal work, mosaic and glass work. Throughout the middle ages the title *magister* was frequently used before the names of important masons: thus the master-mason mentioned in Wykeham's last will was "master" William Wynford. This does not imply that he had taken a master's degree at any university, but that he had attained a position in the exercise of his craft from which he could employ and direct other workmen. Dante, in his treatise *De Monarchia*, illustrates one theory of the relations between the temporal and spiritual powers of Christendom by

the dependence of the *inferiores artifices*, the artists or craftsmen of lower rank, upon the architect. This is the relation of the ordinary mason to the master.

§ 12. We have seen, again, that the monks of Canterbury in 1174 consulted various *artifices*, artists or craftsmen, and that from those who gave advice they chose William of Sens. These *artifices* were simply *magistri* under another title. But Dante's phrase, *inferiores artifices*, reminds us that the *artifex* was by no means always a master, although he might be on the way to becoming one. He was the skilled worker as distinct from the *operarius*, the labourer or unskilled workman; and his special type of skill is marked by the two most common Latin words by which he is described in documents of an official nature, *caementarius* and *lathomus*. He was the worker in stone, the stone-cutter, who worked the freestone from the quarry into shape. His occupation as a dresser and carver of freestone set him apart from the "rough mason," who was merely a layer of stone. The *caementarii* were a band of artist-craftsmen who stood at the head of the workmen maintained from the fabric fund, and were responsible for the architectural quality of the work on which they were engaged.

Attempts have been made to distinguish between the *caementarius* and the *lathomus*, and to give the second of these terms a technical significance as a title peculiar to an organised craft of masons. This, however, is difficult to substantiate, and the general conclusion of the careful student of documents is that the words were used indifferently, at any rate for a long period. Towards the end of the medieval period, however, the use of *lathomus* becomes more general as a synonym for

freemason; while the sense in which it is employed is precisely that of *caementarius* at an earlier date. Richard of Gainsborough, the mason, evidently a man of position and substance, who is buried in the cloister at Lincoln, is described on his tomb-slab as *caementarius*. There can be little doubt that he was the master under whom the Angel choir of the cathedral was brought to completion, and it is probable that the alleys of the cloister, with their traceried windows and wooden vaulting of the last years of the thirteenth century, were of his design. *Caementarius*, *magister caementarius*, are the titles given to the architect-masons employed by the dean and chapter of York in the fourteenth century.

§ 13. Of the actual division of labour between the master-mason and his assistants there are no distinct records. It may be stated, however, as more than probable, that the master was responsible for the general design, and, like William of Sens, supervised the preparations necessary for construction and supplied the patterns from which the mouldings of arches were cut. In the execution of other details, such as the carving of foliage and figures, the individual mason must have been allowed considerable freedom, provided that he kept to the general rules laid down for him by his master. We have no traces of plans or working drawings of any of our great churches. The famous twelfth-century plan of the monastery and cathedral of Canterbury, and the fifteenth-century plan of the London Charterhouse, are bird's-eye views drawn as guides to the water supply of both foundations, and were probably made after that supply had been furnished. Even such drawings of elevations as those preserved abroad at Cologne and Strasbourg are merely sketches to illustrate the general

effect of the completed building. Of a mason's habit of sketching objects which struck him upon his travels we have an invaluable instance in the notebook of the French master-mason Wilars de Honecort, who was employed on the design of the thirteenth-century cathedral of Cambrai: here we find rough plans and elevations, drawings of mechanical devices for use in building, sketches of church furniture and studies of men and animals, which show the variety of his art. But it is curious that fabric accounts, with all their minute record of expenditure, contain very little reference to anything that can be construed as an allusion to drawings. One entry in the Exeter rolls, recording the purchase of parchment on which the mason might show "the form of the work," may refer only to the drawing of mouldings from which patterns or templets might be cut in wood or metal. We can merely assume that the preparation of drawings, whether for the approval of his employers or for the guidance of the masons, was understood to be a regular part of the master-mason's duties. Indications, however, of the form which they took are very obscure. In the matter of plans, it seems certain that the earlier masons used verbal descriptions of pattern buildings, including general directions of the standard of measurements in terms of length, breadth and height. Such a description remains at the beginning of the book of Cluniac customs, compiled in the eleventh century for the use of the monasteries of Farfa and St. Paul's at Rome, and the uniformity of plan in Cistercian monasteries throughout Europe was probably guided by some common form of the kind. In this respect, masons throughout the middle ages were content to follow traditional forms

with such modifications as were required by difficulties of site. As for working drawings, some trace of one method pursued may be found in the lines incised on the floor of the chapter-house at Wells, which have some relation, although its nature cannot be positively defined, to the work which was going on there in the fourteenth century. If this somewhat laborious method was frequently employed, repaving at a later date may easily have banished its traces elsewhere.

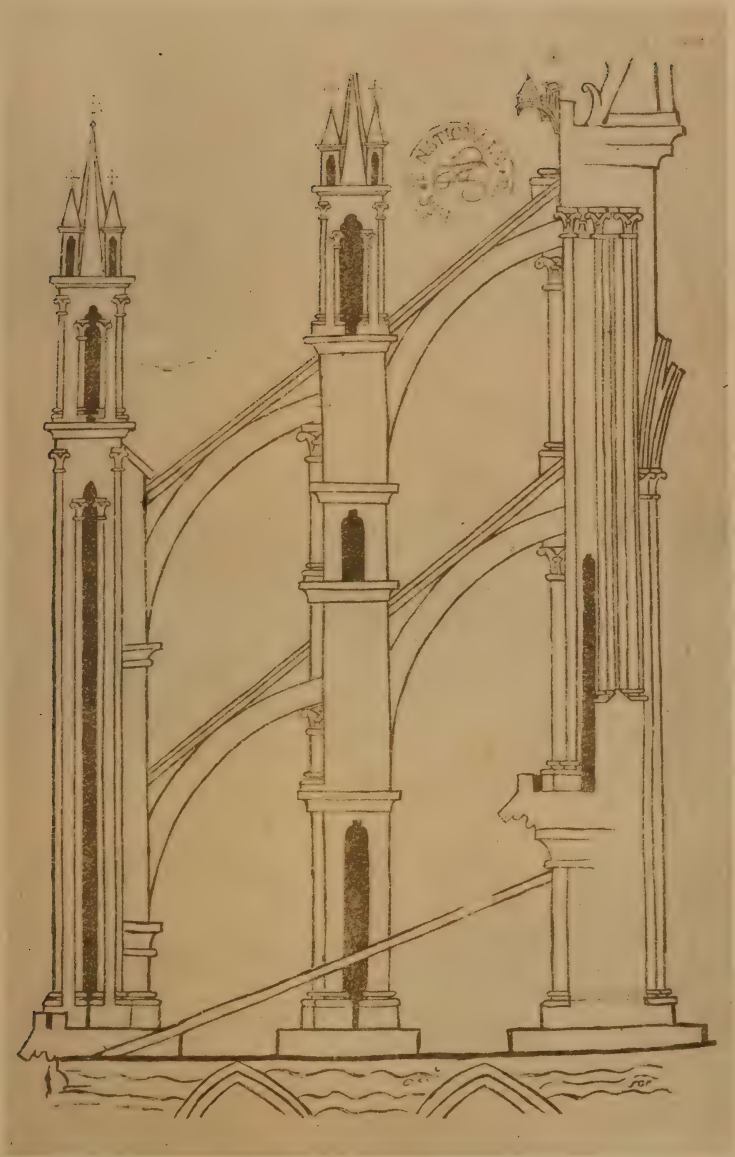
§ 14. There is a very well-known tradition that masons travelled in companies, seeking employment at various centres where building was going on. Individual masons doubtless went far afield in search of work, and master-masons, as at York, were often engaged from distant places. Frequent orders were issued by the Crown to clerks in charge of building operations, empowering them to impress masons for the king's works or for others which he chose to further. Master-masons also may have been employed on more than one building at the same time. John Couper of Tattershall, the master-mason at Kirby Muxloe castle in Leicestershire between 1480 and 1483, visited it only from time to time. When he came, he brought his apprentice and stayed for two or three weeks : when he left, he put the work in charge of another mason known as the warden, who in these intervals was responsible to the clerk of the works and his comptroller. Again, we know of master-masons who were connected, simultaneously or successively, with several churches, like the mason buried at Melrose, whose epitaph in rough verse mentions that he also directed the works at St. Andrews and other Scottish churches of importance. It is probable, however, that most masons, unless their

reputation brought them into general request, remained in their native districts, working upon the local stone to which their hands were accustomed; and that, when employers were setting about the beginning of some important building and wished to engage masons for it, it would be to their own neighbourhood that they would look first.

The fabric rolls of Exeter and York certainly indicate that the authorities had not to go far in order to find skilled workmen: the numerous names of masons given in the Exeter accounts are for the most part local. On one occasion a mason from Salisbury appeared on the scene, either to give advice or to express his approval of the work in progress: otherwise the master-masons seem to have been usually natives of Devon. Further, there is no definite sign that the masons were hired in groups or were permanently attached to the service of one master-mason, so that, if he was engaged, he brought with him a body of followers. At York the payments to the various classes of workmen were generally recorded in lump sums: at Exeter the weekly pay-sheets record the name of each mason with the sum due to him, at the rate of sixpence or fourpence a day according to his status, against it, and it would seem that each was hired by individual agreement. The term "freemason" has been taken to imply that the medieval skilled mason was free to go and accept service where he would. This is hardly borne out by the ordinary distinction between the freemason and the rough mason, which points to the freemason as a worker in freestone. It also is certain that the freemason, when once engaged for a special task, could not desert it with impunity. The orders for impressing

masons already mentioned show that compulsion could be exercised in hiring individuals, and that a man who attempted to avoid an engagement was subject to arrest and imprisonment. These orders belong, for the most part, to the period after the middle of the fourteenth century, when the statute of labourers was in force, and when the conditions of employment of masons were probably more stringent than at an earlier date. They also may have been intended to refer more particularly to the inferior class of workman who was the special object of contemporary legislation. No such distinction, however, is definitely stated, and it seems certain that, if the skilled mason was in social condition a freeman, he might nevertheless be compelled to accept employment at a fixed wage and to abide by the terms of his contract.

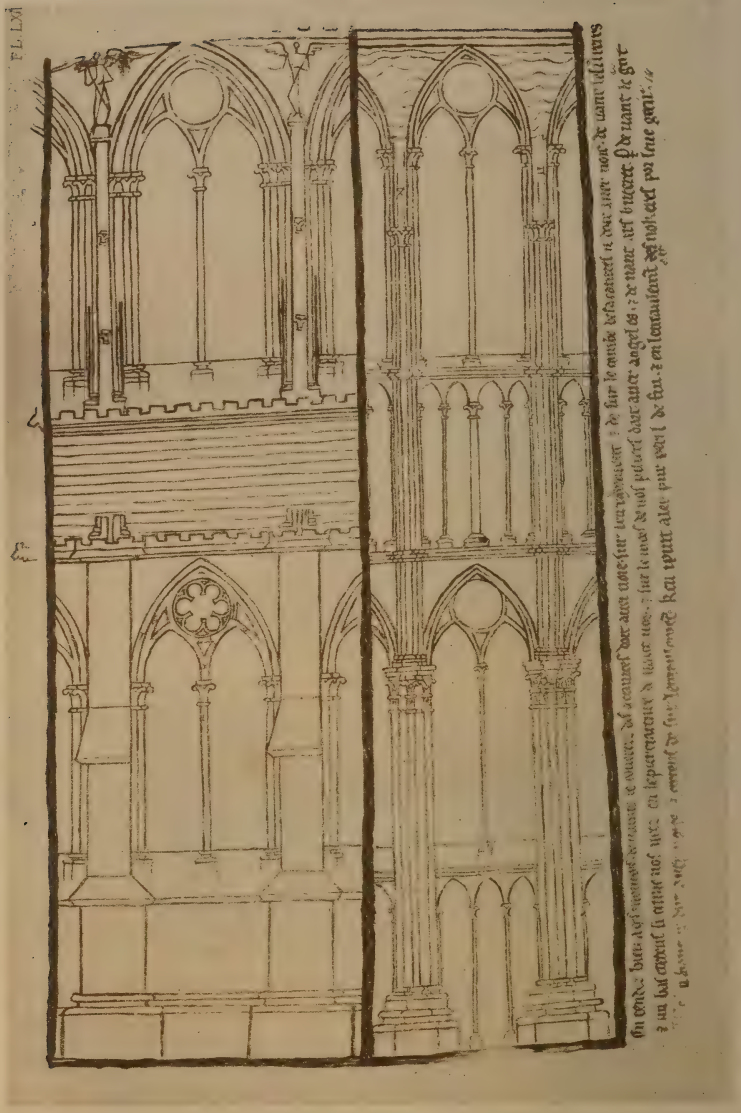
§ 15. It is to this period also that the organisation of masons into local gilds with rules of their own seems to belong. Such associations may have come into being earlier; but the earliest trace of masonic gild-rules in England is a series of English precepts in rough rhyme, composed in the fourteenth century, which are of general rather than local application. Much stress has been laid upon the early appearance of *magistri comacini*, who are mentioned in the laws of the Lombard kings in the seventh century, and are supposed to have been members of a gild with its centre at Como or in the neighbouring island of Comacina, which spread its methods and customs over Europe. But the word *comacinus*, which probably means a mason working in company with others, just as *comonachus* means a monk in relation to his fellow-monks, has no connexion with Como or Comacina; and, although masons from



Drawings by a Master Mason. *Plate xx*

2. THE FLYING BUTTRESSES OF A CATHEDRAL CHURCH.

(from the Sketch book of Wilars de Honecort.)



Drawings by a Master Mason. *Plate xxi.*

3. ELEVATIONS OF THE AISLES AND CLERESTORY OF REIMS CATHEDRAL.

(from the Sketch-book of Wilars de Honecort.)

Lombardy certainly were from time to time employed in other countries, the evidence for their organisation and their dominating influence in European architecture is of the most slender kind. During the great building periods of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we can only conjecture the means which were taken to organise bodies of masons. The prevailing custom is probably represented by the Latin rules drawn up in the fourteenth century, and confirmed in an English form somewhat later, for the masons of York minster, prescribing their hours of work and general directions for their good conduct. These, however, were compiled by their employers, with the object of ensuring regularity of work and obedience to the master-mason, and are in no sense the rules of a body united for mutual protection and defence of its privileges. In the natural course of things, a number of individuals engaged in a common work would find some means of combining in their own interests; but the first trace of this at York is the conspiracy into which the cathedral masons entered, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, against the king's mason William of Colchester and his assistant, on whom they made a murderous attack. The origin of this was probably resentment at the prospect of control by an outsider, not of their own body. The assistant was killed and William was injured, but the attempt to dislodge him failed; for he remained in office at York for many years after. The inference is that their internal organisation was weak and possibly altogether surreptitious. Although gilds of masons appear among town craft-gilds in the fifteenth century, they were not of great importance; and in England there was certainly no general attempt at a trade-union

of masons on a large scale like that established by the German masons at Ratisbon in 1459, under the presidency of the master-mason of Strasbourg.

§ 16. It has been said already that the master-mason was a person of some social importance, dwelling in his own house with a pension from his employers as a retaining fee. His position was due solely to his executive skill. Names of masons, though less abundant in English than in French records, are still plentiful enough to show that the masters came as a rule from districts where freestone was good, and where there consequently existed facilities for practical training. Thus the master-mason at Worcester in the early part of the fourteenth century was William of Shockerwick, a place in the neighbourhood of the Somerset and Wiltshire quarries; and, later on, the king's masons Henry Yevele and William Wynford bear names which indicate that they came from Somerset. Such men of ability were placed at the head of building operations, and were paid at a special rate, generally eightpence a day, while the principal masons under them received sixpence, and the inferior masons and workmen less. The ordinary mason's fee was reduced in the winter half of the year, but the master-mason was habitually paid at the same rate throughout the year for each day or half-day on which he worked in person.

§ 17. From early times the master-carpenter, owing to the importance of the timber roofs of the church, occupied a position equal in rate of payment to that of the master-mason, and had his own body of assistants. As time went on, and work became more specialised, other crafts came into greater prominence. While it may be said that, throughout the thirteenth century,

the master-mason was the controlling influence in church-building and ornament, in the later middle ages he and his men confined their attention more and more to the purely structural effect of the building to which glaziers, tomb-makers, painters and wood-carvers, each working independently at his own branch of art, and often supplying its products from workshops at a distance, contributed decoration. If, during the earlier epoch, our great churches are distinguished by unity of masonic design, in which sculpturesque adornment springs naturally and inevitably from the structure of which it forms part, the growth of the minor crafts explains the falling-off in the handling of sculpture and the prevailing shallowness of detail which, in later medieval art, exists side by side with undiminished vigour of structural achievement. The specialised craftsman, in fact, was left to fill the frame which was supplied him by the mason with works of art of his own devising.

§ 18. The building of any great church or of part of it was a very gradual proceeding. Progress in the choir at Canterbury between 1174 and 1180 was unusually rapid; but here the eastern limb of the church was urgently needed for the services of the monastery, and in this and other similar cases the number of workmen employed would be larger than ordinary. The less necessary parts of the building would rise more slowly, as the condition of the fabric fund permitted. At Exeter the rebuilding of the choir and nave went on, without any important modification of design, for more than half a century. Here a considerable number of masons was in constant employment, and, after the choir had been finished, a special fabric fund was started

for its furniture. In this and other churches there were intervals during which little was done and the staff of masons was reduced; and sometimes the resumption of work was marked by a change of design. The causes of such breaks in the work are not always easy to determine, and external causes, such as unhealthy seasons and the recurrence of epidemics among the workmen, are largely matter of conjecture. We may assume generally that, when funds were running low, little was done for the time being. In addition to this, however, it should be remembered that some time had to elapse before a stone vault could be placed upon a new building, that windows often had to wait for their glazing, and that the principal front of a nave, choir or transept, the most elaborate portion of the structure, including great windows and often much statuary, was left to the last. Again, during the winter months of each year, while carving and stone-dressing could be carried on in the lodge or shed provided for the free-masons, quarrying and building were at a standstill, and the unfinished stonework was protected from the weather by coverings of turf or bracken.

§ 19. The Exeter fabric accounts give much information with regard to quarrying and the carriage of stone. Of rough stone for foundations there was plenty in the immediate neighbourhood, which was carted direct to the church from several quarries within a few miles of the city. The bulk of the freestone came from the quarries upon the estates of the dean and chapter at Beer, some twenty-five miles east of Exeter, close to the sea. From these the stone was shipped in barges to Topsham on the Exe, from which it was carted with little expense, as the carting could be done by the

customary tenants of the chapter as part of their regular service. Occasionally, for special purposes, stone was brought overland from more distant quarries, like those at Ham Hill in Somerset; but the accounts show that the cost of carriage was large compared with the cheap conveyance of stone by water. Water carriage enabled the chapter to procure stone from Caen from time to time at small expense, and to get large quantities of marble from Purbeck for the great piers of the church. For the same reason, the builders of Canterbury and Chichester, in districts where durable freestone was hard to procure on the spot, resorted chiefly to Caen for their materials.

§ 20. As a rule, however, local stone, where it could be employed, formed the principal material. Wells and Salisbury were close to excellent quarries of limestone, the first at Doulting, the second at Chilmark; and, through the whole length of the ridge of oölite which runs diagonally from Portland in Dorset to the neighbourhood of Lincoln, a series of quarries produced those durable buildings which give the student of English architecture his best idea of the resources and capacity of the medieval mason. The quarries of Barnack in Northamptonshire were upon the estates of the abbot and convent of Peterborough, and from them stone was taken along the streams of the fens and East Anglia to Ely, Norwich and Bury St. Edmunds. At Lincoln the quarries were close to the cathedral, which is built of the local ironstone, a deep yellow in colour: for some of its later portions, Ancaster stone, which supplied most of the fabrics of the churches of south Lincolnshire, was used, of a grey tint contrasting with the rest of the building. Going northward, we

find at York the whitish magnesian limestone quarried near Tadcaster, which was brought down the Wharfe and up the Ouse to the quay within a short distance of the cathedral. Near Durham the prior and convent had their own quarries, and, for more easily workable stone, were not far from the sea. Along the western side of England, from Carlisle to Hereford and Worcester, red sandstone was the prevailing material, hard and lasting in the north, but subject to decay in the southern districts near the Welsh border. None of our cathedrals have been touched more heavily by renovation than these, and the portions of Lichfield and Chester which have been left without renewal show the inability of the local stone employed by the medieval builders to resist weather. In contrast to these, the Welsh cathedral of St. Davids is built of granite from two neighbouring quarries, varying in tint from bluish grey to plum-colour, and of a consistency which, in certain conditions of the atmosphere, gives it the effect of coloured marble.

§ 21. It is easy to see how these varieties of material produce local styles, and how, for example, such churches as Lincoln and Salisbury, both of which were being built at much the same time, differ altogether from one another in their most characteristic features. For local style in its fullest development, it is true, we have to go to the smaller churches of a neighbourhood. The great churches, as a rule, have a less provincial character. The master-masons, as we have seen, who designed them were travelled people, acquainted with other buildings. They were not necessarily natives of the district, and they brought to their work experience gained in other places. William of Colchester

and William Wynford, wherever they had been trained, were masters of an art which in their hands lost a purely local quality and became national. But the material on which they had to work had its own natural capacities and limitations. Adventitious aid might be brought in by special grants of stone from a distance made by landowners from quarries on their property: the large quantities of Purbeck and New Forest marble used at Lincoln testify to the royal bounty in this respect. Nevertheless, the local stone and the local style which springs from it still asserted their mastery; and, if Norwich cathedral and other churches of Barnack stone in East Anglia stand in a class apart from the ordinary flint-built churches of the district, the nave of Chester, on the other hand, is thoroughly typical of the later development of Gothic among the sandstone quarries of Cheshire.

§ 22. In conclusion, it is to be regretted that the medieval mason in England left so few traces of his name upon his work. In England we have no example of such a memorial as existed at Amiens until the days of the French Revolution, where the names of the masters who built the church were inscribed upon a metal plate (now renewed) on the floor of the nave. At Lincoln there may be seen, incised in the plaster of the vault of the nave, the name of one of the workmen, W. Parys; at Durham the name of a mason, Thomas Moises, is carved on a buttress; but masons' inscriptions, though they may be gathered here and there, are rare, and, where they occur, as on the reredos of the Lady chapel at Gloucester, they are memoranda numbering the stones or directing the position of the statues intended to fill the niches. Masons' marks,

made to distinguish the stones on which each was employed, are numerous; and from them it is possible to gather some idea of the part which one particular man may have taken in one church or in a group of neighbouring buildings. But such marks have a close family resemblance, and the conclusions which may be obtained from their collection and comparison are, to say the least of it, extremely uncertain. If a mason was careful for practical reasons to keep his own work apart from that of his companions, he was quite careless of any interest which future generations might take in his individuality. While to-day we are able, through the study of records, to find out something about the names of craftsmen and to estimate something of the extent of their achievement, this is merely an accident. Fortunately, however, this study, while it still leaves a margin for conjecture, enables us to follow the general lines on which medieval building operations proceeded and to reconstruct the parts which were taken in them by employers, officials and workmen; and, further, the records of the age succeeding the Reformation, during which for a considerable period the provinces of architect and master-mason were still indistinguishable, confirm the conclusions to be derived from medieval fabric accounts and from the casual notices of chroniclers and annalists.

CHAPTER V

THE CATHEDRAL CLOSE AND ITS INHABITANTS

§ 1. We have seen that cathedral churches in England were either attached to a monastery or were served by bodies of secular canons. The life and constitution of monastic cathedrals belong to the history of monasticism in general: the customs of Canterbury, Durham or Winchester, if we allow for the greater extent of the resources of these historic churches and the greater splendour of their buildings and appointments, differed little from those of an ordinary monastery. The monks lived their cloistered life within the precincts, with their common dormitory and refectory. The cloister, adjoining the nave of the church, was entered from the large outer court in which stood the guest-houses and various offices; and the approach to this from the adjoining town was through the gatehouse. If public access to the cloister could not be entirely stopped, it was at any rate discountenanced and formally prohibited: the cloister was the place for contemplation and silence, and precautions were taken to isolate it as far as possible from the outside world. The laity might enter the nave of the church, but the doorway provided for them was on the opposite side of the building to the cloister or, as at Norwich and Winchester,

in the west front. Of the two beautiful gatehouses which remain at Norwich, both opening from the wide public space called Tombland, the southern, called the Ethelbert gate, was the chief entrance to the monastery, while the northern, the Erpingham gate, was constructed at a later period as the entrance to the court-yard immediately west of the church. Thus, from the beginning, the life of the monastic cathedral was secluded from outer contact; and, while the prior and convent formed its chapter, their active connection with diocesan affairs was necessarily small and their interests were largely self-contained. The bishop, though by upbringing he might be a monk, was more often chosen from the secular clergy: if he were a monk, his promotion meant that he could no longer live within the cloister, at any rate without neglecting a large proportion of the responsibilities which he assumed; nor would his presence in cloister have been congenial to the convent, as compromising its cherished liberties. A monk-bishop, again, might employ monks, with leave of absence from their monastery, in his household; but for the administration of his diocese he had to depend upon secular clerks, and his archdeacons, chosen from that class, had no part or lot in the affairs of the cathedral priory. On the other hand, the canons of a secular chapter, though they might be at variance with the bishop on points of etiquette involving their special privileges, supplied the diocese with a large part of its official staff. It was inevitable that, in dioceses where there were two cathedral chapters of monks and secular canons respectively, the monastic cathedral should take a secondary place in the public eye, and that Bath and Coventry, though important units in themselves,

should be of less significance in their dioceses than Wells and Lichfield.

§ 2. Secular canons lived in private houses grouped round the cathedral church. It is true that cloisters were attached to seven out of the nine English secular cathedrals: York and Lichfield are the only exceptions. We may again recall their position. At Salisbury and Wells these are on a noble scale: here and at Hereford and Exeter, they adjoined the nave of the church, like the cloister of a monastery. But their alleys were merely covered promenades round an open space. At Salisbury, Hereford and Exeter, the eastern walks covered, as in a monastery, the entrance to the chapter-house; but at Wells the chapter-house was on the opposite side of the church. The cloister of Old St. Paul's, on the site known as Pardon Church Haw, was upon the south side of the nave, with the octagonal chapter-house in the middle of the rectangular space. At Lincoln, again, the cloister is in a quite exceptional position on the north side of the choir, but separated from it by the length of the north-eastern transept, through which its east walk is entered: here it is a comparatively small enclosure in front of the great chapter-house. The position at Chichester is even more curious: here it is on the south side of the building, but its west walk is entered from a doorway in the south aisle of the nave, and the south transept is entirely within its enclosure, which has no covered walk adjoining the church. The plan is very irregular, and nowhere can it be seen more clearly that the cloister of a secular church was merely a covered walk and convenient thoroughfare, which had no necessary relation to a chapter-house. The walks might form the lower story

of buildings such as the library at Hereford; but such buildings were laid out upon no stereotyped plan, and the common dwelling-houses of the monastic cloister were absent from it.

§ 3. The secular cathedral in England, however, followed monastic precedent in one important respect. Instead of rising, as do so many continental cathedrals, from the middle of a populous area crowded with houses, it stood apart from the rest of the town in a spacious enclosure, known as the close (*clausum*) or the minster yard. The size of English closes varies, and the encroachments of traffic have sometimes interfered with their limits, as at York. At Salisbury and Wells, however, the separate character of the cathedral precinct can be thoroughly appreciated: the cathedrals stand in the middle of wide open spaces, with the cloisters and episcopal palaces on their south side, and with the houses of the canons and vicars-choral ranged upon the edges of the enclosure. More confined, but as distinct, is the position of the close at Lichfield, on slightly rising ground to the north of the town, with sheets of water to the south and east. Although the close at Lincoln is less secluded than those of Salisbury and Wells, and the magnificent church lacks the picturesque setting which would add to its beauty, its boundaries are still well defined, and its buildings are of a variety and interest exceeded only by those at Wells. The limits of the precincts at Hereford are well marked, and, though the modern shops and hotel on the north side of the close at Exeter give it a somewhat mundane aspect, they have not wholly destroyed its character; while the group of the bishop's palace and canons' houses at Chichester, separated from the cathedral by the cloister,

is as compact and distinct as the buildings of a monastery. No close, however, has such an isolated character of its own as that of the Welsh cathedral of St. Davids, lying in a valley below the foot of the village street. Seen from the edge of the steep hill, the cathedral with its massive tower, the ruins of the splendid palace to the west, and the chantry-college on the north of the church, with their background of barren hills, form a surprising and impressive picture to which there can be few parallels.

§ 4. The ease, however, with which modern town improvements have invaded cathedral closes reminds us that at no time were they as secure from intrusion as the precincts of a monastery. A monastery was a *cul-de-sac* through which there was no thoroughfare or right of way, save in rare cases. The surroundings of a secular cathedral were open in the daytime, and the laity used them freely. In early days also they seem to have stood without any effective barrier from the neighbouring town, within whose walls they were situated, and it was not until the close of the thirteenth century that systematic efforts were made to enclose them properly. It was the danger of the close at night-time, when malefactors haunted it, that prompted the dean and chapter of Lincoln in May 1285 to apply for a licence to enclose their precinct with a wall twelve feet high in suitable places; and it should be noted that here the eastern wall of the city had been broken through not many years before to allow of the extension of the cathedral. A few days later a similar licence was granted to the dean and chapter of York, and in the following January the bishop and dean and chapter of Exeter obtained licence to enclose their churchyard

and precinct with a stone wall. Soon after, in March 1285–6, Edward I's chancellor, bishop Burnell, the builder of the palace at Wells, had a licence in like terms to build and crenellate or embattle a wall round the close; and in April 1299 another great government official, Walter Langton, bishop of Lichfield, obtained a grant of a tax for seven years to pave his cathedral city and build and crenellate a wall round the houses of him and his canons. Thus, in these and other cases, the cathedral close became a walled and fortified enclosure, entered through gatehouses which were locked every evening for the night.

§ 5. In some of these licences the churchyard is mentioned in connexion with the precinct. The open space in which the cathedral stood was the churchyard of the liberty of the close, and within it were buried not only those who died within the close itself, but parishioners of churches within the jurisdiction of the dean and chapter, often at some distance from the cathedral city, whose mortuaries the cathedral body was unready to relinquish by allowing its dependent churches and chapels burial-grounds of their own. This was an additional incentive to the protection of the close from violation. No crime was more common in the middle ages than the pollution of graveyards by bloodshed, which called for reconciliation by the diocesan bishop. Some see in the churchyard a development from a primitive place of public assembly in days before churches were built, and in its use as a place of burial an extension of the practice of consecrating such places by the burial of a body in the middle of its enclosure. Be this as it may, the churchyard was frequently used for purely secular purposes: at York, for

example, the dean and chapter heard the pleas of their tenants at the west door of the church. The churchyard at Hereford remained without sufficient enclosure until 1389, when Richard II gave the chapter licence to close it by gates, which were to be locked from curfew till dawn. It appears from the licence that at this date Hereford was the only English cathedral whose close and churchyard were not properly protected. Situated upon the Welsh marches, it was peculiarly liable to desecration by marauders. Instances of the abuses to which the ground was liable are given, together with possible inconveniences to which its present condition might lead, such as the plundering of the shrine of St. Thomas of Hereford. Enclosure would allow the canons to rest more quietly by night and go from their houses to midnight matins without fear of casual attacks. So far as night was concerned, things may have improved; but it is certain that, when the gates were opened, the close was anything but peaceful. In 1434 bishop Spofford ordered the dean and chapter to put a stop to the indiscriminate use of the close for purposes of merchandise and traffic. Brute beasts, as in 1389, roamed about and rooted up the bodies of the dead; the thrashing of grain was carried on with other inappropriate customs; and the place might be likened more truly to the king's highway or to a common field than to a consecrated churchyard. In an age which recognised no very sharply defined distinction between the sacred and the profane, such things were possible and might even pass with little reproof: it was not until a much later date that the commerce complained of at Hereford ceased to be freely practised in the nave of Old St. Paul's. Cathedral churches, as we shall see,

were not free from serious disturbances, and in 1313 a Gloucestershire rector murdered a man in the churchyard of Exeter cathedral.

§ 6. Gatehouses like the Exchequer gate, a large and fine example, at Lincoln have sometimes survived the close walls in which they stood. The close at Salisbury is still entered through its gatehouses, and the close at Wells illustrates excellently the fondness of medieval builders for sumptuous structures of this kind. At the head of the market place stand close together two gatehouses: one leads into the outer precinct of the bishop's palace, while the other, Pennyless porch, is the churchyard gate, opening into the south-west corner of the close. Another gateway, known as the Chain bridge, crosses the road on the north side of the cathedral and carries the covered way from the church and chapter-house to the vicars' hall, which itself was extended eastward in the later part of the fifteenth century over the gateway-arch of the vicars' close. In addition, the beautiful deanery is entered from an outer court with its own gatehouse; and, on passing through the great gate of the palace, we see before us the wide moat separating the outer court from the wall and gatehouse of the inner, access to which is gained by a drawbridge. Nowhere else perhaps can the appearance of the medieval surroundings of a cathedral be so thoroughly realised, and nowhere are they less spoiled by modern incongruities.

§ 7. The minster yard of Lincoln is less romantic than the close at Wells, but illustrates equally well the variety of the buildings of a cathedral precinct. As we approach the Exchequer gate on its west side, we have on the left hand the small parish church of St.

ELY CATHEDRAL. *Plate xxii*

The Octagon.

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL. *Plate xxiii.*

Showing the Font and William of Wykeham's Monument.

Mary Magdalene, built in the fourteenth century for the parishioners who previously had worshipped at an altar in the nave of the cathedral. Passing under the three-storied gatehouse, with its central and two lateral openings, we are immediately in front of the cathedral, divided from us by a road and a paved space. On our right, in the south-west angle of the precinct, are the houses of the precentor and subdean, the first modernised, the second largely Elizabethan. At the back of the subdeanery garden, running eastward, is the wall which divides the close from the bishop's palace, on the site of the first wall of the Roman city. This continues as far as a long low house opposite the south-east transept of the cathedral. This house, the main front of which faces eastward on the road from the church to the palace, was the dwelling-place of the chantry-priests upon the foundation of Nicholas, lord Cantelupe, forming a small corporation of themselves. At this point the close widens, and the road, descending the slope of the cathedral to the gatehouse of the vicars' court, turns sharply to the right between the south side of the Cantelupe chantry-house and the vicars' court and enters the palace grounds. The present house is modern, and, of the old palace, which lies in ruins, the only parts in use are the gate-tower, built by bishop Alnwick in the fifteenth century, and the building at the south end of the great hall, which has been converted into a chapel. The ruins themselves are of great extent and interest, terraced out on the steep slope of the hill and continued upon vaulted substructures. Returning from the palace, we pass the vicars' court, a quadrangle on the hill-slope, the buildings of which, no longer continuous, are now divided into four

dwelling-houses. Beyond this a narrow flight of stairs, the Greesen or steps, now popularly known as the Grecian stairs, descends the hill to the town. We are now opposite the south-east corner of the cathedral, and cross the site of the destroyed church of St. Margaret to the road which runs along the east side of the close to the small gatehouse called the Pottergate at its south-east angle. From this the embattled precinct wall remains at the back of the gardens of a row of houses bordering the road just mentioned and facing the turfed space at the east end of the cathedral and the chapter house. These are of various dates and characters; but among them is the chancery or chancellor's house, a beautiful red-brick building of the sixteenth century, and at the north end of the row, lying back from the road, is one of the former canons' houses, now inappropriately known as the Knight's house, which is partly of the fourteenth century. At this point, we pass into Eastgate, the street which runs along the north side of the cathedral. Between it and the church is the modern deanery, on the site of an older house which had a gateway-tower, and, among the houses which lie between Eastgate and the north wall of the city, is the dwelling-place of the priests who served the Burghersh chantry. The gatehouses of city and close on this side are now gone, but the road which curves from Eastgate to the Exchequer gate, past the deanery garden and the west front of the cathedral, marks the western limit of the churchyard.

§ 8. In this survey of the existing buildings of a cathedral close, the following points may be noticed:

(*a*) The bishop's palace adjoins the south side of the close, forming a separate enclosure, with its own

gatehouse or outer and inner gatehouses. At York and Lichfield, however, it was on the north side. In monastic cathedrals, its position varied. Thus Durham castle and the episcopal palace at Worcester, now the deanery, were on the north sides of their respective churches, divided by the church from the cloister; while at Winchester the bishop's castle of Wolvesey and the house which in later times rose on part of its site were to the south-east of the cathedral at the back of the conventual buildings. In the abbeys which Henry VIII converted into cathedral establishments, the bishop took possession of the abbot's lodging, as at Gloucester and Peterborough.

(*b*) The deanery is on the north side of the close. This, however, is not invariable. At Exeter, for example, it is to the south-west of the church, and at Chichester it lies with the other buildings on the south, and the close forms a kind of forecourt to the bishop's palace. It may be said generally that the prior's lodging in monastic cathedrals became the later deanery: Durham, Winchester and Worcester (now a fragmentary ruin) are conspicuous examples, and that at Gloucester is a remarkably interesting specimen of a prior's lodging, which, until the fourteenth century, had been that of the abbot.

(*c*) The houses in a modern close, now occupied, as at Lincoln, by people who are simply tenants of the dean and chapter, represent the houses formerly appropriated to canons, though few may retain any original features. This, of course, does not apply to monastic precincts, where guesthouses and other buildings have been adapted as private residences. At Lincoln certain houses attached to dignities in the church, or houses

on their site, are occupied by the residentiary canons; and in other closes dignitaries' houses, like the imposing treasurer's house at York, bear their old names. The topography of the canons' houses generally needs considerable research, if it can be reconstituted, and for those of the dignitaries, with the exception of the dean, there was no regular position.

(*d*) It will be noticed that, in addition to canons' houses, the close contained dwellings or groups of dwellings appropriated to vicars-choral and chantry-priests. The vicars-choral usually had their own enclosed court, like those at Lincoln, Wells and Hereford, and formed a separate corporation or college, subject to the chapter in matters concerning the church, but with their own statutes and privileges. Similarly, the chantry-priests who were not also by custom vicars-choral were often incorporated and provided, like the vicars, with a habitation which had a common hall and separate chambers. Thus at York the vicars-choral, who were incorporated in 1417, had their college, called the Bedern, with its hall and chapel; while the chantry-priests, incorporated about the middle of the same century, were housed in St. William's college, which was built for them to the south-east of the minster. At Lincoln, however, we have noted two bodies of priests who served the Cantelupe and Burghersh chantries, and formed separate corporate bodies or colleges. The existence, therefore, of more than one collegiate body in the same cathedral must be taken into account, with the understanding that vicars choral and chantry priests were members only of colleges attached to the church, and that the actual college of the church was constituted of the dean and the canons

of the chapter, in which the minor clergy had no place.

§ 9. It has been explained in an earlier chapter that a bishop seldom resided for any length of time in the cathedral city. However useful a dean and chapter might be, when individual members were called into consultation by the bishop, and however necessary they might be as the official trustees of his property, whose consent was necessary to his chief business transactions, they nevertheless as a corporation had privileges of their own which a wise prelate was careful not to disturb. Residence in the palace meant that the bishop, outside his own gates, was on land where his presence might be construed as intrusion or trespass. The complexity of his position and the intricacy of ecclesiastical jurisdiction are well illustrated in the case of Chichester. Here the dean and chapter had ordinary jurisdiction, not only in the close, but in the greater part of the city; but one quarter of the city to which their authority did not extend was in the palatine jurisdiction of the archbishop of Canterbury and belonged to his diocese. More than this, the peculiar jurisdiction of the collegiate church of Bosham came up close to the west side of Chichester, and this was a detached portion of the distant diocese of Exeter. The bishop, in fact, could not go out of his own precinct without treading on ground where his authority was liable to dispute; and, even if he himself was of a peaceful and circumspect disposition, the conduct of his household could not be counted upon in a day when the slightest excuse might lead to a free fight. Thus the splendour of episcopal palaces was not due to the habitual presence of the bishop and his household,

but to the necessity of large entertainments on special occasions or on great festivals, when the bishop came in from one of his country seats and exercised hospitality for a few days.

§ 10. Reference has also been made to the distinction which grew up between residentiary and non-residentiary canons and to its causes. It has been seen that its effect was to put the government of the cathedral church into the hands of a minority of the canons, who resided constantly. The conditions of residence, however, remain to be discussed. These were not uniform everywhere. The general principle, however, is laid down clearly in the early directions for the cathedral of Salisbury attributed to St. Osmund. Here it is stated that each of the four dignitaries, dean, precentor, treasurer and chancellor, is to receive double commons: the rest of the canons are restricted, each to a simple share in the distributions from the common fund of the chapter. But only a resident may have a share in commons. Commons, i.e. payments from the common fund, are, in short, the source from which, over and above his individual prebend, the resident is enabled to maintain the duties of his position. The dignitaries, who were supposed to reside continually, have a double share, because hospitality falls on them most heavily. The conditions of residence are laid down very clearly in a statute made by the dean and chapter of York in 1221. The four dignitaries or *personae* are to reside according to custom. An archdeacon, if he is also a canon, is to be counted as resident for three months only, as it is understood that his duties to his archdeaconry, which is his cure of souls, make his continual presence impossible. Residence for

the rest of the canons means six months in the year, which may be taken as three months in each half-year. During these terms, each resident is to receive a daily sum or " quotidian " from the common fund, sixpence for ordinary days, a shilling on feasts of nine lessons, and two shillings on the greater double feasts. To fulfil his residence, the canon, during his term, must spend the night in York about the church, and be present daily at service, at any rate at matins and the hours, unless he is sick or has been bled. He may now and then be absent for a night or two in a week, provided that he does not make a habit of it, without forfeiting his commons ; and they are to be paid him for the days on which he enters into and retires from residence. There is, however, a further payment of half-yearly dividends at Whitsuntide and Martinmas, when accounts are made up and, after deductions have been made for expenses and debts, the residue of the commons is divided in equal shares. Further, commons are not paid in advance, and no canon may receive them until he has resided for at least half a year continuously.

In connection with this statute three questions arose. (1) If a canon died during his year of residence, what was to be done with the commons which he would have received had he lived ? The answer was that they were to be paid to his executors, as were the fruits of his prebend ; but if, during his last illness he had taken the monastic habit or resigned his prebend, his commons and the third part of his prebend were to go to the fabric fund of the church. (2) The treasurer, who had two prebends annexed to his dignity, demanded a double share in commons. For the sake of peace, he was

granted an additional allowance of three marks a year for life; but it was laid down that commons were annexed to residence, not to prebends. To allow the contrary would lay commons open to any non-resident, or at any rate would establish that a man with two prebends could keep two residences simultaneously. (3) Two prebends, however, to which there are parallel examples in other churches, were "bursal," i.e. they consisted in money payments from the common purse. If their holders did not reside, what was to be done, seeing that commons depended on residence? In this case the contingency of non-residence was met by a fixed allowance of six marks for each prebend, while a resident received his full commons and his quotidians.

§ 11. The directions for residence in the Hereford customs, which belong to a later period in the thirteenth century, are extremely elaborate. Briefly stated, they amount to this, that residence is required for thirty-six weeks in the year, sixteen weeks of absence, taken in periods not exceeding seven weeks at a time, being allowed. For his weeks of residence a canon is entitled to the "greater commons," to which during absence he resigns his claim. Each non-resident, on the other hand, is entitled to receive twenty shillings a year, known as the "little commons"; and quotidians may be claimed by any canon, whether resident or not, for any day on which he attends matins and sits in choir in his habit. A number of provisions are made for residents who may wish to go on pilgrimage or to a university, absences which, on certain conditions, might count as residence. In the second case, after three years of residence, a man, if he were learned or showed promise, might go away to study for two years and

take a third year, if he asked for it. At York, where no definite period is laid down, a canon who studied or taught in the schools had a right to receive his entire share in commons, as distinct from quotidians.

§ 12. The conditions of residence assume a definite form in the York statutes, as drawn up in the second half of the thirteenth century, somewhere between 1258 and 1291. Residence involves certain burdens: the canon who resides is responsible for the maintenance of certain members of the cathedral staff, who will be at his board. He must show his capacity to meet this demand, and therefore, after he has declared his intention to reside, or, as the phrase went, has "protested residence" before the dean and chapter, he enters upon his first or great residence, which lasts for twenty-six weeks in the year. During this time, he is bound to be present at all the canonical hours, unless hindered by sickness: he entertains twice as many vicars and ministers of the church as his fellow residents; and he receives no commons. The object is clear: if he is ready to incur this outlay, it is proof that he has means of his own and is not residing with the ulterior motive of getting a living out of the common fund. Residence, moreover, was by old custom interpreted very strictly. The man who left his house for a night now and again during his term was said to steal his commons; and, during the great residence, he was obliged to be at home by curfew-time at latest. A night's absence cancelled his residence.

Having passed through this probationary stage, he was qualified to receive commons, and entered upon the lesser residence of twenty-four weeks, which was not bound to be continuous, but might be spread over the

whole year, provided that he was present on the greater festivals, when all the canons were expected to be resident together. He was obliged, however, to complete a full twelve weeks during the winter term between Martinmas and Whitsuntide. His attendance at service was required for vespers, matins and the daily masses which the chapter attended in common.

At Lincoln in the fourteenth century the greater residence extended over three years and amounted to two-thirds of each year. This, however, might be taken at intermittent periods, and was not continuous like the half-year residence which qualified for commons at York. A third of the year, or seventeen weeks, was the period allowed for the lesser residence. A record of presence and absence was kept by the chapter clerk, and some of these rolls and books of "*re* and *ve*," i.e. *recedendi* and *veniendi*, enable us to estimate how residence was kept. It is unnecessary to enter into complicated details; but it may be remarked that the system was not calculated to promote general residence, while it ensured regularity upon the part of those who undertook to reside. Everywhere in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the number of residents had dropped to a small body. The chapter act-books at Lincoln show that this number varied from time to time; but nine, the number in 1432, may be taken as normal. This was less than a sixth of the whole, and included the four dignitaries.

§ 13. With the decline in the number of residentiaries arose the custom of farming out the common estates of the chapter among them, with preference to the seniors who had passed into the lesser residence. The canon who thus acquired one of the manors paid a fixed yearly rent or farm for it to the common fund,

and in most cases leased it to a layman; but, if he chose to look after it in person, the time spent on it counted towards his residence. It should also be noted that at Lincoln the non-residents, whose connexion with the church would otherwise have been merely titular, were bound to pay a seventh of the fruits of their prebends to the common fund yearly. As the best prebends were generally in the hands of non-residents, the sevenths amounted to a handsome sum.

§ 14. In the cases which have been cited, there was an immense difference between the value of prebends; and, in this respect, the small manorial prebends in St. Paul's and Lichfield offered a great contrast to the wealthy prebends in York, Lincoln and Salisbury. One cathedral, however, retained the early system by which prebends consisted of equal shares in a common fund at a time when the canons were all expected to reside and live in common. At Exeter the prebend of each canon, whether he resided or not, consisted of a yearly payment of six marks. Residents, of course, came in for their shares of the residue and their quotidians; but half of each prebend went yearly from its holder to the fabric fund of the church. A non-resident thus gained little out of his prebend, and it is not surprising that the chapter of Exeter, instead of being filled with clerks from every part of England, kept a peculiarly local character. There were, as we have seen, such money or "bursal" prebends elsewhere, but nowhere in England, save at Exeter and in some small collegiate churches, were the prebends uniformly of this type.

§ 15. Chapter records, such as those of Wells, display the working of the system of residence. For this

purpose the year at Wells, by an order of chapter in 1259, was divided into four terms of thirteen weeks each, in each of which the dignitaries and canons were expected to reside for equal periods, each complete in itself, so that defaults in one term could not be made up by extra residence in another. For the dean and "principal parsons" eight weeks, for the other canons six weeks and four days in each term formed the statutory requirement. Commons were paid by the assignment of a terminal sum of 50 marks from the manor of North Curry, and by quarterly dividends from other farms and rents. While this act of the chapter defined the terms and method of paying commons, the time of residence required of the dean and canons was a matter of old custom, and had been formally sanctioned at an earlier date by a statute of bishop Jocelin. If, however, the residence of the dignitaries was somewhat exacting, it could be interpreted in more than one way. Thus a dignitary who left Wells to prosecute the business of the church, or to engage in litigation concerning his dignity or prebend—and such litigation was not infrequent—was counted as resident. John Godelegh, dean in the early part of the fourteenth century, was allowed absence constantly on such errands. Naturally, there were people who commented unfavourably on his fitful residence; and in 1317, to stop these rumours, the chapter declared by letters patent that, according to their records, he had kept his residence fully ever since his appointment.

§ 16. Dean Godelegh, whose activity in the defence of his church was unstinted, and whom detractors accused of setting the moors near Glastonbury on fire with the view of burning down the abbey, then at feud with

the chapter, flourished in an age when the disputed question of the right of bishops to hold visitations of their cathedral churches was becoming settled by compromise. To this age, for example, belongs the agreement between the archbishop and dean and chapter of York which holds good to the present day. It is noteworthy that, when bishop Drokenesford proposed to visit the church of Wells in 1319, the council summoned to deliberate upon this attack on its privileges included only those canons who were then resident or had kept residence in the previous year: the non-residents were asked merely to give their opinion in writing. This certainly marks the cleavage which, here as elsewhere, was apparent between the two divisions of the chapter, and the growth of a small executive or inner chapter of residentiaries. Godelegh himself, in process of time, was dispensed by the pope from the residence which in his case, as dean, was obligatory; but his benefactions and general service to the church had been so great that, when he proposed to resign in 1331, the chapter begged him to stay. He died a few months later. His energetic maintenance of the rights of the church and his zeal for its fabric had fostered a strong corporate feeling among the canons, who followed his example in spending money freely for the public good. In order to relieve them of the debt of £200 which they had incurred, it had been decided with the approval of bishop Ralph of Shrewsbury to levy that sum from the non-residents, who, as everywhere else, held most of the "fatter" prebends; and in 1337 dean Walter of London called upon the non-residents to pay half their prebends yearly to the common fund.

§ 17. Apparently the normal number of residentiaries at Wells in the fourteenth century was nine or ten, including the dignitaries, the subdean and the subchanter. The question how far an absentee dean could be counted as resident, which had been answered in favour of Godelegh, was raised in 1375, when dean Stephen Penpel was engaged in a suit in the court of Canterbury against bishop Harewell. The chapter considered that his absence was not for the advantage of the church, but of himself, and demurred to paying his commons until he returned to Wells. Such absence bore hardly on the regular residentiaries, who felt that the expenses incurred by them were ill requited, if commons were allowed to a dean whom they seldom saw, upon such insufficient grounds. But there was also the problem of canons who resided, but shirked the expense of keeping hospitality by staying in the houses of other canons. Presumably they were paying guests, on which ground alone their fellow-canons would have been found ready to admit them. In 1404 bishop Bowet confirmed a statute of the chapter which forbade this custom and ordered each residentiary to dwell in a house of his own. Another ordinance of the same date settled the assignation of commons, allowing a double share to each of the four dignitaries, and to the archdeacon of Wells if resident. Such ordinances were doubtless enforcements of old customs which were in danger of falling into disuse, but their enactment on these definite lines is significant. The dignitary had to have some inducement to keep his longer terms and meet his greater responsibilities; for on him naturally fell the task of entertaining important visitors, in addition to his other charges. When

Henry VIII's sister Margaret went north to marry James IV of Scotland, the dignitaries of the church of York showed her splendid hospitality; and the noble range of apartments which dean Gunthorpe, at the end of the fifteenth century, added to the deanery of Wells is a striking comment upon the state which was expected of a cathedral dignitary. As regards other canons, the monition to keep their own houses put residence within the power only of a few: the residentiary body tended to become restricted to a few persons who could afford to reside.

§ 18. In the matter of residentiary houses accommodation in the later middle ages became limited. At York it appears that most of the prebends had houses annexed to them; but this was certainly not the case everywhere. At Lincoln, Wells and Hereford certain houses were allotted to residentiaries as they fell vacant, and it is probable that, with the decrease in the number of those residing, houses originally annexed to special prebends were let by the chapter for the good of the common fund. At Hereford, however, where the bishop had the disposal of the canons' houses, there is evidence that in 1321 several of the canons' houses were vacant and falling into ruin, and were inconvenient for residence; in view of which one of the canons was permitted to enlarge his own dwelling by joining an adjacent empty house to it. Both here and at Lincoln canons sometimes had to wait before they could get houses, and thus there may have been some excuse for the habit of boarding with other canons. The ordinance of 1404 at Wells, however, implies that houses were not wanting for those who were ready to take them, and, in dean Gunthorpe's time, when there were

usually four, five or six residentiaries in addition to the dignitaries, a house was speedily provided to anyone who protested his intention of residence. Thus Richard Nykke, afterwards bishop of Norwich, came into residence in 1491–2, and was at once admitted by proxy into a vacant canonical house. In 1494 he became archdeacon of Wells, and so moved into the house appropriated to his office. His vacant house, a few months later, was granted to a new residentiary, Thomas Gilbert, who, in June 1495, received a grant of a dwelling next door, which had been vacant since 1487, with leave to unite the two houses.

§ 19. By this time also it had become the custom for each canon, on protesting residence, to deposit a hundred marks as caution money, a heavy security for his ability to maintain his position. The burden of residence certainly was considerable: in 1488 each canon then residing was allowed forty days of grace during that year, without forfeiting anything but his quotidian payments. Similarly Nykke, upon admission, was excused forty days of residence for the year 1492, and in April was allowed forty days more, for which, however, he was to receive nothing. Both Nykke and dean Gunthorpe were constantly away on business, for which they were counted as resident, but did not receive quotidians; and grants of days of grace to all became frequent, so that the number of those present must often have been very small. In 1493 Nykke, away upon business between the chapter and bishop Foxe, was granted even his quotidians. The habit of actual residence had so decreased, owing to frequent leaves of absence, that in the same year an order was made that each residentiary who held a

CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF ST. PETER, YORK.

South View.
(from Browne Willis.)

Plate VI.

THE CLOISTERS, NORWICH CATHEDRAL.

Plate xxv

dignity, parsonage or office in the church, and should reside in person six whole weeks between Michaelmas 1493 and Michaelmas 1494, should qualify thereby for a dividend in the caution money of the canons.

In 1510 there was some difficulty about the residentiary houses. One, which had long been vacant, was out of repair: another canon complained that he could not dwell in the house allotted to him. At the same time, the number of residentiaries was larger than usual, and in 1511 there were as many as twelve who were not dignitaries. In October of that year the vicar-general of the alien bishop, Hadrian di Castello, visited the church and agreed with the chapter, non-residents being present by proxy, that canons intending to reside must show that they could spend £40 a year, apart from the proceeds of their prebends and dignities or what they could get by residence, and that then they might have, if they could get them, houses of their own out of thirteen specified residentiary houses.

§ 20. Thus, in process of time, residence in a cathedral church, although honourable, had become so onerous and expensive that a definite assurance of a sufficient income was necessary before it could be allowed. Wells, as cathedral cities went, was not a costly place to live in: residentiaries qualified for their commons at once, without the probation of the great residence. Henry VIII's new statutes for the church of York in 1542 show that there residence was too expensive to be borne. Their preamble refers to the "perverse custom" by which no canon could be reckoned a residentiary or receive his emoluments as such, without expending a thousand marks in banquets and other burdensome duties during his first year of

residence, a sum which could not be maintained on his prebend. As a result, there was only one residentiary in this important church. The statute of the great residence was not repealed, but was radically altered. The compulsion to board a double number of vicars-choral and ministers was abolished; the residentiary was admitted at once to commons and quotidians; and the habit of farming out the estates of the chapter to single canons was forbidden, all rents and farms being henceforth divided in equal shares, one share from the commons also being appropriated to a reserve fund known as St. Peter's treasure. Without going into the rest of the statutes in detail, we may note four special points. (1) The exclusive claim of residentiaries to administer the business of the church was expressly checked by the order that all non-residents who happened to be in York should be summoned to chapter meetings as a matter of course. (2) Careful provisions were made for the custody of the common seal, so that it might not be at the mercy of a single residentiary. (3) No great increase in the number of residentiaries was expected. It was provided that of two or three at least one, of four or six at least two, and of five at least two or three, should reside the whole year. (4) A residentiary was bound to reside in a canonical house in or near the close, and must be able to spend at least £100 a year.

§ 21. The tendency of such limitations, although they removed much that was irksome, was to lessen the importance which residence gave to a cathedral dignitary. With the qualification of a large private income, a canon was nevertheless to avoid splendour and display. The statute recognising the right of non-

residents to appear in chapter laid no compulsion upon the non-resident at a distance, and of those who could take advantage of an occasional visit to York in this way the number was small. The result was that, at York and elsewhere, a very small body of residentiaries, with little excuse for casual absences, made its comfortable home round the church, and became to all intents and purposes the whole chapter. This state of things was finally established by the actual limitation of residentiaries to a fixed number. Thus, about 1575, the number at Wells was fixed at eight, and at Salisbury in the seventeenth century it was six. The distinction between residents and non-residents was now complete, and it is at this period that the misleading differentiation of resident canons from non-resident prebendaries began. On this something already has been said. While the sweeping changes of 1836–40 reduced residentiaries to a minimum and left the other prebendaries nothing but the titles of the prebends whose fruits were henceforth pooled in the funds administered by the ecclesiastical commission, the nominal distinction between canons and prebendaries was still preserved, and still obtrudes itself on our notice in clergy lists. The real state of the case, however, is that every full canon, whether residentiary or not, was, in the term employed in the Salisbury statutes, *canonicus praebendatus*, a canon with a prebend. A man might be formally admitted to a canonry, with the expectation or promise of a prebend when it fell vacant: this happened constantly in the fourteenth century, when such expectations were freely granted by the holy see. The prebend, however, was the necessary completion of the canonry.

§ 22. We have seen something of the importance of

the four dignitaries of the chapter, constantly referred to as the four *personae* or parsons. Distinctions are occasionally made between dignities and parsonages in cathedral churches, and, again, between these and offices. The terms, however, were used somewhat indiscriminately. It may be said, however, that the *dignitates* were pre-eminently the four already mentioned; but their holders were also the chief parsons of the church. Similarly, the subdean and archdeacons, and, as at Wells, the subchanter or succentor, held parsonages, but were regarded also as dignitaries. The word parson, generally speaking, implies a cure of souls, and this was certainly applicable to the parsonages and dignities of a medieval cathedral. The theory that a dean had no cure of souls, which has been held since the Reformation, was true of the deaneries of some of the smaller collegiate churches; but it certainly did not hold good of the deaneries of cathedrals, which could not be held with other cures of souls without dispensation. "Office," however, although there is no very definite distinction to be found, implies a somewhat lower rank than "dignity" or "parsonage," and might be applied to the deputies of dignitaries, such as the succentor and subtreasurer, who were not always chosen from the canons: it is, indeed, a general term which included any responsible position. Local variations in the use of titles are numerous, and the collegiate chapter of Beverley affords an interesting example of this. It consisted of seven canons with prebends originally derived from shares in the common fund, to which were added, as time went on, an eighth, and a ninth which was appropriated to the archbishop of York. There were no dignities: the provost, who

administered the estates of the church, had no seat in chapter as such, and was not always one of the canons. The admission of the eighth canon to chapter meetings was long disputed, and the archbishop's prebend gave him no right to a place in chapter. There were, however, three officers, the precentor, chancellor and treasurer, who had their emoluments but were not canons, taking rank below the members of chapter and occupying stalls in the middle, instead of at the corners of the choir. There were also parsonages in the church, without cure of souls; but the parsons were neither canons nor officers, but a body of seven clerks, who were apparently occupied in the business affairs of the provostry, and had places in the lower stalls of the choir. We read also of similar parsons at York, though their duties there are uncertain.

§ 23. At Wells the provostry, always held by a canon, was defined by an ordinance of bishop Jocelin in 1234 as an "office of charge," formed by the union of two similar offices. The provost, however, administered only a portion of the chapter estates, which afforded the annual revenues of the fifteen prebends of Combe: his office, in the fourteenth century, was permanently annexed to the prebend of Combe xii. The actual administrator of the common fund at Wells, from an early period, was known as the communar. Whatever the original custom may have been, this officer was not a member of the chapter, but held a subordinate position similar to that of the chapter-clerk and the clerk of the fabric. In the later middle ages he was habitually elected yearly from among the vicars-choral, the same man frequently being re-elected for a number of years together. With the communar

was associated the escheator, who administered vacant prebends and received bequests for distribution among the canons and vicars present at funeral masses and the yearly obits of benefactors. The yearly accounts of these two were audited by three of the canons residentiary, also chosen annually according to seniority, the senior of whom was called the baron of the exchequer, a title which survived into the seventeenth century. By that time, however, it had become customary to nominate the communar from among the residentiaries, and in 1601–2 and 1607–8 the same persons held the posts of communar and baron of the exchequer together, while about the same period these offices show a tendency to alternate with one another. In the meantime, the office of escheator was usually given to a vicar-choral; but, later in the seventeenth century, it was merged in that of receiver-general, which was united with the communarship. From 1697 to 1712 this joint office was held by a clerk who was also auditor to the dean and chapter and kept the fabric accounts. After his death his duties passed to one of the residentiaries, and, under his custody, the common fund and the fabric fund were united in 1729.

The office of communar occurs also in other churches, as at Lichfield and Salisbury, where it was not necessarily held by a canon. At Lincoln the common fund was kept by a provost, chosen annually and customarily a residentiary, who had a clerk of the commons under him. His duties included the custody of the ordinary seal, the seal *ad causas*, of the dean and chapter, while he had one of the keys of the box in which their great seal was kept. He supervised the distribution of commons by his clerk, to whom the keeping of accounts

was entrusted, and made an annual visitation of the churches appropriated to the chapter. His position seems to be a cross between those of the communar and the baron of the exchequer at Wells, and much of the burden of it fell upon the clerk of the commons.

§ 24. Owing to the custom of non-residence among the canons, it became the rule that at any rate each non-resident canon should appoint a vicar or deputy, to take his place in choir. Thus within the close there grew up a body of clergy, holding their vicarages in the cathedral church by institution at the hands of the chapter, and bound to continual residence. In 1222 it was ordered by the dean and chapter of Salisbury that each canon, on the death of his vicar, was to present another, who was to undergo a year of probation, during which he must learn his psalter and antiphoner by heart and give good proof of his fitness of character. He was bound by an oath of obedience and fealty to the dean, and, if his canon was non-resident, he acted as his personal agent in communications between him and the chapter. From a statute of 1268 we learn further details. The vicar was in priest's, deacon's or subdeacon's orders according to the gradation of his principal's prebend. His payments were derived from the common fund of the church and from his principal. His presence at matins was obligatory: if he were absent without cause, he lost his commons for the day; but, as some vicars claimed that attendance at matins was sufficient, it was now enacted that they should also be present at the other canonical hours, and that they were not to be appointed to secular offices which might interfere with their duties in the church.

§ 25. Continual residence in the case of a vicar was

so interpreted that he could hold no benefice away from the cathedral; but from time to time he could obtain leave of absence from the dean or president of chapter, absences being so regulated that at least twenty-six vicars must be in choir at the same time, thirteen on each side, personally and not by deputy. According to the statutes passed in 1324, the vicars in choir wore over their surplices choral copes with hoods: their almuces or tippets were of black cloth lined with lambswool or goats' skin. Anything like extravagance in dress was forbidden: they were not allowed the costly furs which the canons often wore, and their costume out of doors was not to imitate lay fashions. When at table with the canons, they were obliged to wear their hoods. Although they were not wholly forbidden to dine with strangers, the habit of doing so was prohibited, and they were expected to be in the close after curfew. Among the articles of dress which they were not to use are mentioned coloured hats or caps and chequered, red and green hose.

§ 26. It was found necessary in 1324 to warn the vicars of Salisbury that they were the subjects, not the equals of the canons. It was only natural that a body which had so much to do with the services of the church and was larger than that of the residentiaries should claim privileges of its own. Their actual incorporation as a college with property and an independent status of its own was sometimes, as at Salisbury and York, deferred until the fifteenth century; but before that time they had acquired a certain individuality. Churches and other sources of revenue had been set apart from the common of the chapter for their maintenance, and they had their own common fund, administered by their

provost or proctor. The common lodgings and hall at Wells, which form the vicars' close, were provided for them in the middle of the fourteenth century by bishop Ralph: the vicars' court at Lincoln owes its establishment to bishop Buckingham a little later. Here they lived, two or more sharing one dwelling, owing allegiance to the dean and chapter so far as their duties in the cathedral were concerned, and enjoying the hospitality of the residentiaries, but with statutes and customs of their own made at their common meetings. Although they were not members of the chapter, they obtained some control over the government of the church. We have seen that at Wells the communar and escheator were usually chosen from among them. The fabric fund was also, in the later part of the fifteenth century, entrusted to a vicar; and at Exeter and York it was habitually in a vicar's hands.

§ 27. The vicars were at no time easy to control, and were constantly in need of discipline. Young men for the most part, with time on their hands between services, they were neither learned nor studious, and showed a strong inclination to secular pursuits. Statutes made at Wells in 1298 show that their habits needed correction in more than one particular. The custom of leaving the choir in service-time to walk about the nave and talk with lay-folk, which recurs throughout the middle ages, is mentioned in these, which also state that its ostensible object was to purchase goods exposed for sale in the nave, a practice condemned by the same statutes. Delinquencies of vicars, at Wells and elsewhere, were frequently noted and punished by the dean and chapter. In our own day, colleges of vicars-choral and minor canons are somewhat tenacious

of their statutory privileges, but the conduct of their members is exemplary. The medieval ideal, however, of the standard to be maintained by cathedral clergy was singularly at variance with the circumstances in which they found themselves. Thus at Salisbury in 1440 it was required that, while the vicars were at table, they should listen, like monks, to the reading of pious works, and that such conversation as was allowed should be conducted in Latin. Such restraints on worldliness, however, were ineffective. Somewhat later it was found necessary to forbid their playing at ball in their common hall or wearing arms in the close; and, later still, when the number of vicars was much less than that of canons, there were many complaints of laxness, and the common hall was occasionally the scene of quarrelling and bloodshed. In all fairness to the vicars, it must be owned that they had some excuse for idleness and ill behaviour. In the beginning, the vicar was simply the deputy of a canon who chose to neglect his duty towards the cathedral church. He was the servant of a small body of residentiaries which interpreted its responsibilities more or less liberally. Finally, his superiors sometimes set him a bad example. In the long quarrel between dean Macworth and his chapter at Lincoln, extending over many years of the fifteenth century, and ceasing only with the dean's death in 1450, vicars-choral had every temptation to unruliness. When the dean's servants, acting on his orders, pulled the chancellor out of his stall in choir and beat him on the spot, the inferior clergy of the church might well plead that their own private brawls should go unnoticed.

§ 28. In post-Reformation chapters vicars choral

underwent a great diminution in numbers, and their number, like that of the residentiaries, eventually became fixed at a proportion which bore no relation to the number of canons. We find also that their revenues become divided between clerical and lay vicars, the latter of whom are singing-men filling places in choir previously occupied by clergy. At Salisbury in 1605 it was ordained that there should be six clerical vicars and seven lay vicars or clerks, whose stipends were to be paid by the clergy of the vicars' college. It may be noted that at St. Paul's choral duties in the middle ages fell upon the college of minor canons, twelve in number, the seniors in which bore the title of cardinals. For the new foundations of the Reformation period, in churches which of course had been without canons and vicars previously, new bodies of minor canons were formed. One point should not be overlooked in this connexion. In the secular colleges of the middle ages, the vicars were frequently associated with the subchanter: at Salisbury, for example, the succentor was normally their president and proctor (*procurator*). The subchanter, in his turn, was himself the deputy or vicar of the precentor, who was a chief dignitary; and his importance among the parsons of the church at Wells was exceptional. In the new foundations, on the other hand, the title of precentor, which had been borne in monasteries by one of the officers or obedientiaries appointed by the abbot or prior, was given to the chief of the minor canons. While, therefore, the precentor of a secular church, such as Lincoln or Salisbury or St. Paul's, remained a dignitary and a residentiary canon, the precentor at Durham or Canterbury, previously monastic churches, was the head of a body

outside and subject to the chapter of dean and prebendaries.

§ 29. In addition to the vicars, there were several minor members of cathedral foundations. The office of sacrist, held in monasteries by a monk of some standing, was in secular cathedrals usually delegated to a clerk in minor orders, who slept in the church and had other clerks or lay servants under him. At Lincoln the sacrist was usually a priest vicar, who was responsible for the conduct of the lay sacrist and his helpers. The sacrist and his clerks were the executive of the treasurer of the church : they looked after the furniture and the arrangements of the vestry, swept the church, wound the clock, and rang the bells. At Wells the sacrist played a prominent part at the installation of canons, and, of the ministers of the church then present, received the highest fee. The number and titles, however, of these ministers were subject to much local variation. Each cathedral had its recognised body of dependents, from an important person like the notary public who acted as chapter-clerk to the comparatively humble porter or janitor of the close.

§ 30. After the corporation of vicars-choral, however, the most noteworthy body connected with the foundation was that of the choristers, boys who lived in a house in the close under the care of a master, appointed by the precentor or by a warden chosen from the canons. At Lincoln the original number appears to have been twelve ; at Salisbury in 1319 there were fourteen. Special rents and revenues were set aside for their support, and occasionally churches were appropriated for their benefit. The village of Ashby Puerorum in Lincolnshire is so called because its church

was appropriated to the choristers of Lincoln. The admission of choristers depended upon an examination held by the precentor, which tested their sufficiency in song and ability to read: their master instructed them in grammar, so that they were able to render their part in the service with some intelligence. These cathedral grammar schools must, of course, be distinguished from the theological schools which were ruled by the chancellor and played an active part in the earlier history of medieval education and thought, but of whose activity in England we hear little, especially after the growth of universities. At Lincoln the small number of choristers in the fourteenth century was augmented by the foundation of a second body in connection with the Burghersh chantry. This double element in the choir is still marked by the distinction between the choristers who wear black choral copes and sit at the ends of the choir-seats, and the surpliced Burghersh chanters.

§ 31. Last of all must be noticed the various chantry-priests, who formed no part of the foundation of the cathedral, but belonged to separate foundations instituted, with the consent of the dean and chapter, at its altars, each with its special ordinances and sources of revenue. Some of these chantries were closely connected with the cathedral, e.g. the works chantry at Lincoln, to which allusion has been made elsewhere; some were habitually held by vicars choral; while others, like the Burghersh and Cantelupe chantries at Lincoln, were founded upon a collegiate basis, with houses in the close or near it. But there still remained a large number of chantry-priests who, saying mass daily in the church and attending the hours in choir,

were not housed within the precincts, but found lodgings where they could. It was for the better order of such priests, attached to the cathedral staff but not actually of it, that, in the second half of the fifteenth century, St. William's college was founded at York. Similarly the Mountrey college at Wells was founded at the beginning of the fifteenth century for fourteen "mass chaplains." Chantry-priests were instituted by the dean and chapter, and, like the vicars choral, were subject to their control. The benefactors also, upon whose gifts they lived, were very often bishops, deans and canons, who desired their memories to be perpetuated in this way; but their revenues were settled upon them from independent sources, with which the dean and chapter, unless they were appointed trustees and patrons of the chantry, could not interfere.

§ 32. It will be seen that the interests represented in a cathedral close were complex and varied. In this respect there was an essential difference between the secular and the monastic cathedral. The convent of a monastery was a single united body, possibly disturbed by internal differences, but not divided into a number of distinct corporations. After the suppression of monasteries, therefore, the new chapters were founded upon a plan which resembled the secular system in its main outline, without adopting its complications. The limited number of prebendaries in the new foundations was calculated upon the revenues which the common fund might be expected to yield to residentiaries: in fact, the small body which in course of time had become the virtual chapter in a secular church was taken as the normal rule for chapters which entered upon the possessions of monasteries. The system of dignities

and parsonages was not copied in the new foundations: the dean's pre-eminence in chapter was not qualified by the presence of other resident dignitaries, of whom he was merely the first, and, although such offices as those of subdean and treasurer were necessary, they did not form benefices with revenues and churches attached to them distinct from the prebends of their holders, but were elective and terminable. Again, the minor canons of the new foundations were not the prebendaries' vicars, but a small company of resident priests attached to the church in contrast to the large vicars' colleges of secular cathedrals; and, while it was inevitable that they should acquire privileges of their own, like the vicars-choral, their growth into the most numerous element in the close was prevented by the limits set to their number.

§ 33. The modern ideal of a cathedral is that of a centre of diocesan activity. But the medieval conception, which long survived the Reformation, was somewhat different. The cathedral church, it is true, was the mother church of the diocese. Every year at Whitsuntide the parishes of the diocese sent their representatives with offerings to take part in the procession at the cathedral, or at any rate at some nearer church where such offerings were authorised to be collected. In making their last wills, men remembered the cathedral fabric fund, which grew upon their bounty. Members of the chapter habitually took part in diocesan administration, acting under commission from the bishop. In his absence from the diocese, or in a vacancy of the see, much of the business usually carried on at his manor-houses was transferred to the cathedral city. The cathedral church, however, was

essentially the church of a close corporation with individual interests quite detached from those of the diocese at large, and insisting, to an extent incredible to-day, upon its independence of episcopal interference and its right to control the minor corporations which came into being within its precincts. For the most part lawyers by training, deans and residentiary canons, outside the services of the church, found their main interest in legal and constitutional questions. The wills of cathedral dignitaries show how largely books dealing with such subjects formed the staple of their reading. Cathedral libraries, as they grew, were furnished with the necessary legal authorities, copies of Gratian and the Decretals, or of the sources of civil law, with the endless and voluminous commentaries of jurists. The student of medieval law might spend a lifetime in the cathedral library of Hereford, among the chained volumes which belonged to bishop Charles Booth. Thus the internal history of any cathedral is, for the most part, a record of the discussion and settlement of questions affecting its constitution and property, which occasionally led to prolonged disputes and litigations. The attempt of archbishop Alexander Neville, the friend of Richard II, to exercise unconstitutional authority over the chapters of York and Beverley, and of dean Macworth to magnify his office at Lincoln at the expense of the chapter, are epics of cathedral history which illustrate the difference between the medieval and modern point of view.

§ 34. The age, however, was in no sense peace-loving, and it is not surprising that the quarrels of a rough outer world found their way into the cathedral close, even where it had been walled and gated against

LINCOLN CATHEDRAL. *Plate xxv.*
West Front.

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL
South West View with Cloisters.

Plate xxvii.

them. If the more learned of the cathedral clergy had recourse to the advice of their law-books, many of the vicars and chantry-priests were ready enough to resort to force in a quarrel. Even if dissensions and disputes led to merely occasional acts of violence, they had their fatal influence upon the atmosphere of the cathedral. The records of Macworth's quarrel with his chapter bear witness to the laxness of discipline and carelessness in divine service which such a state of things was bound to engender. In looking at these things, however, from the modern standpoint, we should remember that the line between the sacred and the profane was by no means so definitely drawn in the middle ages as it is to-day. Just as the medieval mason introduced secular and humorous representations into the carved work with which he ornamented his cathedral, so the mixture of inconsistent elements with the expression of fervent personal piety and a disparity between religious faith and conduct were not so incongruous as they became in a later age. It was the disorder which it caused rather than the impropriety of the practice which caused chapters to forbid buyers and sellers from trafficking in the churchyard and the nave ; and such a practice could not wholly be checked, but was always liable to break out again. Such scenes as the uproar in St. Paul's, which put a summary end to Wycliffe's trial in 1377, were almost unavoidable results of the use of a cathedral church for purposes other than those of divine worship. While, again, sacrilege was regarded by the authorities with detestation, instances of it occur in such cases as the violation of rights of sanctuary or the disturbance which took place in Southwell minster about the middle of the

fourteenth century, when malefactors interfered with the Whitsuntide procession and carried off some of the oblations brought by the faithful. It was hard to keep the world out of even a monastery; and the inhabitants of the close of a secular cathedral were only human, in an age when public opinion passed a somewhat lenient judgment upon offences against ecclesiastical decorum.

CHAPTER VI

DAILY LIFE IN CHURCH AND CLOSE

§ 1. In attempting to give some idea of the ordinary round of services in a medieval cathedral church, it must be premised that the difference in this respect between a monastic and secular church was very slight. In spite of the essential differences between their constitutions, they were founded for the same general object, the perpetual celebration of divine worship by a body of men set apart for that purpose. Although the quasi-monastic character of early establishments of canons disappeared with the growth of non-residence, yet the obligation to be present in choir by deputy remained. The offices of choir and altar were perpetuated by the joint body of canons and vicars with the special aim, apart from their general tendency to promote the glory of God, of benefiting the souls of departed benefactors. The cathedral was, in fact, like the monastery, a great chantry foundation in which intercession for the dead never relaxed, coupled with prayers for the good estate of the living whose names were inscribed on the books of the church. The daily portions of the psalter, which all canons, present or absent, were required to recite privately, were enjoined with this end in view: during their recitation, the benefactors of the church were to be kept in mind In

this respect, of course, the greater churches were not peculiar. The principle of the advantage of vicarious intercession underlies the whole of medieval religious feeling and institutions; but it is in the great churches that it is most conspicuously displayed. The man who left money to the mother church paid thereby a subscription which ensured the entry of his name among the company whose salvation was daily pleaded at its altars.

§ 2. Again, as in a monastery, special stress was laid upon the recitation of the divine office in choir, the *opus Dei* or work of God, as St. Benedict had called it. The seven canonical hours were said or sung as regularly at Lincoln and Salisbury as they were at Canterbury and Durham. The attendance of the residentiaries and vicars was marked by their presence at the hours, especially at matins. It was not enough that they should say their daily masses as prescribed, or even attend the daily high mass: the recitation of the hours was a corporate act which was the bounden duty of the community.

§ 3. The actual succession of services is not difficult to reconstruct, as it followed a uniform pattern. The arrangement of a time-table, however, is complicated by more than one cause. Directions for the hours at which services are to be celebrated are usually vague, or are timed by some local custom which needs further definition. Thus at Wells a mass in the chapel of our Lady next the cloister was to begin when the first peal for matins was rung at the parish church of St. Cuthbert. Beyond the probability that matins were said at an early hour in the morning, there is no means of assuming the actual hour indicated. Further, the

variation of the seasons led to variations in the hours of service. The ordinary monastic custom seems to have been to divide the twenty-four hours of the day into twelve night hours and twelve day hours, the latter beginning at dawn and ending soon after dusk. The length of these periods in winter and summer, in an age when darkness put an end to active work, would obviously be reversed; and in monasteries, where the habitual practice was to rise for matins in the middle of the night, the winter and summer reckonings of midnight would be different. While the clock could not be altered with the seasons, the bells for services could be rung at longer or shorter intervals, as the season might require. It has been reckoned that, during the period from Michaelmas to Easter, the twelve night hours were longer, and the day hours shorter than the ordinary intervals of sixty minutes; while at Easter the longer day hours began and continued to Michaelmas, and, to make up for the shortness of the summer night, the monks were allowed a siesta in the dormitory after the midday meal. In short, they went to bed with the dark and rose with the dawn or sunrise, with the midnight interval for matins and lauds.

§ 4. While midnight services in winter afforded no difficulty, and could be regulated in a monastery during the summer half of the year, the change of season in secular churches was not so easily observed. The hour for going to bed could not be rigidly maintained, where there was no common dormitory, with its doorway to the cloister locked during the hours between compline and prime; and in summer, when curfew was rung about 9 p.m., there was more temptation to

stay up than at the earlier hour in winter. Moreover, in summer, the ordinary layman, whose sleep had not been broken by matins, was early about his business: the cathedral workmen were expected to hear mass before they began the day's work, and there were others, travellers and traders, who had to start betimes for neighbouring or distant towns. Early masses thus could not be delayed. Apart from this, the number of chantry-masses to be said before midday was very considerable, and was in excess even of the large number of altars in the church: to allow for these and for the morning services in choir, early rising was imperative. There was no special hardship in the winter night, if we reckon it from 7 p.m. to 6 or 7 a.m., with matins between 1 and 2 a.m.; but the summer night, from 9 p.m. to 4 or 5 a.m., with matins at much the same hour, gave little time for sleep.

§ 5. This is the explanation of the custom at Lincoln, where matins were sung from Michaelmas to Easter in the middle of the night, but between Easter and Michaelmas were postponed to 5 a.m. or thereabout. This custom survived till 1548, when midnight matins were abolished by royal injunction, and it was ordered that, from the 8th of October following, matins should begin at 6 a.m. or near thereupon. This injunction was one of the series issued to cathedrals generally in 1547, but it is doubtful whether midnight matins can be taken in the literal sense of the phrase. Although the mention of "matins by night" in cathedral records is common until the Reformation period, and at Wells the excuse of vicars-choral from night matins on such grounds as age and infirmity was frequent, such excuses occurred throughout the year without regard to seasons. It

certainly appears from other sources that the name "night matins" clung to the service even when it was transferred to the early morning. As late as March 1547–8 it was ordained that William Payne, one of the chantry-priests at Salisbury, was "bounde to be at Matyns at nyght in all doble feastes." But in the Salisbury statutes of 1319, *vigiliae nocturnae*, the night vigils, i.e. matins and lauds, are represented as being said before the daily mass of the Blessed Virgin, so that the vicars, who were bound to attend them, were hindered from saying private masses during their progress. This can mean only that the ordinary time for matins there was in the early hours of the morning. In the collegiate church of Ottery St. Mary, matins were said by statute at midnight during the winter half of the year until, in 1423, an indult was obtained from Rome which allowed the canons to relax the custom, on the ground that parishioners were better able to attend matins at 4 a.m. Thus Edward VI's injunction, fixing 6 a.m. as the normal hour for matins, may simply have been intended to prevent the service from being held at an hour when, for a large part of the year, it was begun and finished in the dark.

§ 6. The Salisbury statutes show, at any rate, that the day began with the "morrow mass" at dawn (*missa matutinalis*, *missa in aurora diei*). This mass, said in all churches where there was a sufficient staff of priests, was celebrated immediately after the ringing of the day-bell. It was specially intended, as already noted, for travellers and work-people, and was usually said at one of the altars in the nave. At Salisbury, where the "morrow-priest" was also the chaplain of

the cathedral parish, it appears to have been said at the altar of the Holy Cross, which was close to or even on the loft of the screen which separated the nave from the choir, and it may be identified with the early mass founded at this altar about 1265 for the workmen of the fabric. Similarly at Lincoln the first mass was celebrated at the altar of St. George in the south transept by one of the chaplains maintained from the fabric fund, evidently with the same object.

§ 7. The attendance of the residentiary canons and vicars at matins was regarded as highly important, and formed the regular test of due compliance with the conditions of residence. This led to the enactment of the Salisbury statute, which, seeing that all the vicars should be in choir at this hour, prescribed that from the morrow mass until the mass of the Virgin—i.e. during the time of the choir offices,—the chantry-priests of the church should say their masses in succession at their various altars, one beginning when another had finished, according to an order settled in chapter at the beginning of each year. It is interesting to notice that the body of statutes known as the *Novum Registrum*, which bishop Alnwick endeavoured to introduce at Lincoln in the fifteenth century, reproduces this statute word for word. In any case, however, it must have been difficult to prevent masses at different altars from overlapping each other, and the time-tables of chantry-masses preserved at Lincoln show that, as the morning wore on, several masses were said simultaneously.

While the morrow mass was proceeding in the nave, the bells were rung for matins in choir. The ringing consisted of three or more separate peals, lasting over

a time in which a man could walk a league or long mile; and during this period those who came early to choir said matins of our Lady. The length of the peals was prescribed to enable all to be present in time; and the priest whose duty it was to officiate for the week, known as the hebdomadary, and the two cantors who "ruled" the choir from the lectern in the middle, were expected to put in an appearance before the last peal and begin matins as soon as it stopped, waiting only for the dean, if he were late. At Lincoln, where the directions in the *Liber Niger* are very definite, there were five peals, each lasting for the space of half a mile's walk except the last, which, rung with all the bells, ended with the last arrivals.

If the bells began to ring about 5 a.m., matins cannot have begun at earliest until 5.45. Meanwhile, the chantry masses went on, and, about 7 a.m. at Lincoln, the summons known as "peal" called the priests who were charged with the celebration of special anniversaries or obits in the church to say the office of the dead, which the poor clerks attached to the foundation were bound to attend. Those present at such services received payment from the special funds left for their maintenance. During this period also chantry-priests not engaged in celebrating would find time to say matins of the dead, which was their daily duty: thus the two Hungerford chaplains at Salisbury were required to say *Dirige*, the matin office, together, if possible, before 8 a.m., and the vesper office, *Placebo*, while the bells were ringing for evensong.

§ 8. The vicars-choral at Lincoln, who also had chantries, said their masses between 8 and 9 a.m. Towards the end of this hour, a small bell was rung for

the mass of our Lady, which was celebrated by the vicars at her altar. It was the establishment of such masses, attended by a considerable number of the cathedral staff, that led to the building of those large Lady chapels which are so prominent a feature of our cathedrals. As in 1531 a second mass was celebrated at the "Lady mass altar" before high mass, which was at 10 a.m., the singing of the Lady mass cannot have occupied much more than half an hour. On ordinary days, the bell for prime was rung after the Lady mass was over. When prime was finished, a second bell was rung for the meeting of the canons in chapter, and after this terce was said while the celebrant was getting ready for high mass. The vicars attended chapter only on Saturdays, to receive necessary correction.

On double festivals, however, the prime-bells began with the Lady mass, which was probably sung solemnly, and prime was said before the mass was over. Chapter was also shortened. Ordinarily the chapter meeting consisted of the commemoration of saints and benefactors, read from the book called the *martilogium* or martyrology, followed by a lesson and the transaction of necessary business; but on doubles *De profundis*, said before the reading from the *martilogium*, was omitted together with the announcements of obits of benefactors for the day. After this, the celebrant and ministers prepared themselves for the procession, and silken copes were distributed to the canons and vicars in choir by the sacrist or his clerk, terce being deferred till the procession was over.

§ 9. The festal procession was headed by one of the clerks of the church, bearing and sprinkling holy

water, and followed by three clerks in copes, carrying three crosses side by side. Next came two men in albs, carrying candlesticks with lighted candles : behind them were the two incense-bearers in albs and tunicles, preceding three clerks in surplices who bore the relics. After them followed the subdeacon with the book of the Gospels before his breast, the deacon with the processional cross, and finally the celebrant, attended by two servers in copes. As they moved down to the west door of the choir, the clergy and choristers came out of their stalls and followed in order, the bells ringing all the while. The procession passed down the nave and up the north aisle. Before returning into choir, a station was made before the great rood above the choir-screen, where the antiphon for the day was begun. Then, singing as they entered the choir, the clergy, after the collect following the antiphon had been read, filed back into their stalls, and the celebrant and ministers went to the vestry to prepare for mass. During the interval, the hours of terce, sext and nones were recited in choir.

The ordinary procession on Sundays, when no copes were worn save by the celebrant, was preceded by terce, and passed round the whole church. On leaving the choir, it turned up the north aisle, and so encircled the choir and altar. Its course, when it reached the nave, was probably down the south aisle ; and it made its station before the great rood in the middle of the nave. At Lincoln, York and elsewhere, stones in the floor of the nave, set in two rows at equal intervals, regulated the order of the procession at this point. In making his will in 1445, bishop Alnwick of Lincoln desired to be buried in the place where he stood in the

procession. This refers to the last halt in the nave, where, when the bishop was present, he followed in the rear of the procession and stood near the west door; and here a stone still marks his place of burial.

Of other stations save the halt before the screen nothing is said in the directions for processions at Lincoln. The Sunday procession in monastic churches was a longer ceremony than in secular; for it included, not only a tour of the altars of the church, apparently with a station before each, but the perambulation of the principal buildings of the cloister, after which the last station was made in front of the rood-altar in the nave. In secular churches the celebrant probably sprinkled each altar with holy water, as is shown by the directions for the Sunday procession at Wells; and at Wells also the procession left the church and went round the cloister, where a station was made for the repose of the souls of the canons who lay buried there. It was also the custom, when the feast of a saint to whom an altar in the church was dedicated fell on a Sunday, to begin the procession by visiting that altar: of this we have proof from Salisbury and Exeter. On other days, such as Palm Sunday, when the bishop entered through the west doorway, where the choir met him, the course of the procession was exceptional. For its normal course, where the altars were visited in order, the description of the ritual followed at Salisbury in the fifteenth century on Maundy Thursday, when the altars were washed with the newly consecrated chrism, is fairly explicit. Here, outside the choir, the procession went to the altars in the north-east transept, and so round the eastern altars to the south-east transept and nave, ending with the altars

in the great north-west transept. This was a logical method which followed the plan of the church conveniently without going over the same ground twice: a glance at the plan of any cathedral church, with this in mind, will show how well it adapted itself to the needs of processions on these lines.

§ 10. We have seen that, on the greater festivals the hours of terce, sext and nones were said together in the interval between the procession and high mass. On these days high mass began somewhat later than usual and lasted longer, and was accompanied by such special ceremonies as the reading of the epistle and the gospel from the loft above the choir-screen. On ordinary days, however, sext and nones were said after mass, and concluded the offices of the morning. Nones was properly the office of the ninth hour, and the monastic custom, at any rate for a long period, was to say it at an interval after the midday meal, except in Lent. At Salisbury in 1319 it was sometimes said at this time. But in most churches it became the custom to combine it with sext, and the use of the word "noon" for midday is a proof that this was the habitual use. Meanwhile, though most of the chantry masses had been said by 9 a.m., a few were celebrated later. The Lincoln list of 1507 shows that one was said between 9 and 10 a.m., and two more between 10 and 11, the second of which, at St. Katherine's altar in the retro-choir, was begun after the gospel at high mass. In 1531 five masses, in addition to the Lady mass, were said between 9 and 10, and three, in addition to high mass, between 10 and 11.

§ 11. After the long services of the morning, the cathedral staff was ready for the midday breakfast

after 11 a.m. With regard to this, canons and vicars followed their own customs: the canons went to their several houses, the vicars to their common hall. At the same time, it was the regular rule for the residentiary canons to invite some of the vicars daily to this meal: thus at York a canon keeping his greater or preliminary residence entertained four who came to table in their red cloaks, while a canon in his minor residence entertained two. At a date when there were perhaps some thirteen canons in residence as a rule, most of the vicars were thus provided for. On Sundays the custom at Lincoln, confirmed by an ordinance of 1403, was for the canon who celebrated at the high altar during the week to invite the sacrist and his clerk, the subchanter, the clerk of the works, the clerk of "*re* and *ve*," who kept the register of attendance in choir, the watchman, the lay sacrist who looked after the bell-ringing, the watchers who kept St. Hugh's shrine at night, and the porter of the close, to breakfast with him on Sundays. Indeed, others, including the sweeper of the close and the crier of notices of deaths in the city, had claimed this privilege by 1403 without warrant. This list, however, is probably not exhaustive; for on double feasts, which were of frequent occurrence, the celebrant was expected to invite the three deacons, three subdeacons, two incense-bearers and two taper-bearers who had preceded him in the procession, the bishop's four beadles, the church watchman, the lay sacrist and another ringer, the sacrist and his clerk, the subchanter and vice-chancellor, the chapter-clerk, the clerk of the common and his assistant, and the clerk of "*re* and *ve*." The ministers named here, twenty-five in number, show some variation from the

list of 1403, and come from the customary of the church drawn up only a few years earlier. Bishop Alnwick's *Novum Registrum*, composed about 1439, adds the clerk of the works, but definitely limits the double feasts involved to the four days after Christmas and the three after Easter day and Whitsunday respectively. At the same time, it lays down the rule that twenty-two persons should be entertained every Sunday. As on ordinary Sundays there were only one deacon, subdeacon and incense-bearer, this came to much the same thing; and, while the beadles and the clerk of the common's assistant are omitted, their places and one other are supplied by the candle-lighter, two more ringers, the watchers at St. Hugh's shrine, and the porter of the close.

In addition to this large Sunday repast, the daily breakfast of the canon of the week was attended by his deacon and subdeacon and one of the vicars who ruled the choir. The arrangement must have been extremely burdensome, especially to a canon in his greater residence, while he was as yet qualifying for his share in the common fund. The canons officiated week by week in rotation; and, as there were seldom more than thirteen residentiaries at the most, the turn of each came round at least once a quarter. On the festivals, however, which took precedence of all double feasts at Lincoln, on certain anniversaries, and on Ash Wednesday, the three days before Easter, and the vigil of Whitsunday, the dean, if the bishop were absent, was officiant and relieved the canon for the week of his responsibility; or, if the dean were away, the senior dignitary present took his place. Also, on eight semi-double feasts, the dignitaries inferior to the

dean were charged with entertainment as on doubles, the four beadles only being excepted. These rules, as prescribed by Alnwick, represent to some degree an ideal allotment of duties. They were part of a measure of reform intended to quiet a long dispute and were not formally accepted. They were founded, however, on custom and embody the theory on which the whole system of the "feeding of the choir" (*pastus chori*) was based, viz. that the celebrant at the high altar for the day should entertain the ministers.

§ 12. In this context it should be remembered that it was highly irregular for anyone below the rank of a canon to celebrate at high mass: the high altar was the altar of the dean and canons, and the officiant at daily matins, high mass and evensong was the residentiary for the week. The custom was for this "hebdomadary" canon, on the feasts prescribed for a general *pastus chori*, to send a clerk with invitations to breakfast round the choir in course of service. The clerical sacrist and his clerk, the subchanter and vice-chancellor were summoned during lauds, the others at high mass, during the singing of the gradual and offertory. As time went on, we have seen that leave of absence was permitted to certain residentiaries who were busy in the affairs of the church. Alnwick's rule was that, if their weeks came round while they were away, they should make up for personal entertainment by paying the deacon a shilling, the subdeacon eightpence, each of three servers sixpence, and tenpence to the ruler of the choir if they had no vicars of their own. Considering these obligations, it is hardly wonderful that the preamble of Henry VIII's statutes for the church of York, while referring somewhat arrogantly

WELLS CATHEDRAL.
South East View.

Plate xxviii.

SALISBURY CATHEDRAL. *Plate xxix.*
View of South to North Transept.

to the " pretended statutes " hitherto observed, should remark censoriously upon the initial expenses of residence. The statutes themselves, without abolishing the *pastus chori* in so many words, directed that the vicars, instead of sitting at the board of the canons, should receive stated payments from the residentiaries in lieu of victuals, which, it was considered, would effect an improvement in their diligence and devotion to divine service.

§ 13. The custom of three o'clock evensong in choir, still generally maintained in our older cathedral churches and prevalent till recently in some country districts, reminds us of the earlier hours which were kept in the middle ages. Of this and the later service of compline there is not much to be said. Evensong upon obit-days included vespers of the dead in choir, and probably the chantry-priests said the office of the dead prescribed by their several foundations at some convenient time in the course of the afternoon. Although, as has been noted, matins of the dead were intended to be, and sometimes were, recited in the morning, the ordinary medieval custom was to combine *Placebo* and *Dirige*, and their private recitation was dictated by the priest's convenience. Evensong was followed by vespers of the Blessed Virgin, and compline followed soon after, before the choristers retired to their supper and bed. The ordinary hour for supper for the canons and vicars was about 6 p.m. or even earlier, after compline : the canons, relieved of the burden of entertainment, supped in their own houses, the vicars in their common hall.

§ 14. At sundown on the long days of summer curfew was rung : in winter, when sundown was intolerably early, it was rung at a convenient hour

after dark. After curfew the bell-ringers, six in number, including the lay sacrist and the candle-lighter, were given drink on Sundays by the hebdomadary canon, on weekdays by the other residentiaries in daily rotation. The lay sacrist and the candle-lighter then went back to the church and searched the nave and aisles, to see that no malefactors were lingering about. In winter, this process was repeated after night matins. The first two of these ministers, having searched the church, were free to go to bed after a hard day's work of constant bell-ringing. The watchman, however, stayed up all night at his duties, and was expected to walk through the close, playing his flute at every change of hour: it is noticeable, however, that in this matter he was allowed some discretion, apparently provided that he saw that the ringers were in time to ring for matins.

§ 15. Thus during the day a round of services continued in secular churches, as regular as that in a monastery and modelled on the same pattern, with a break in the early afternoon. It will be seen that considerable variety was introduced according to the variations of the calendar. The division of feasts into doubles of different importance, semi-doubles and simples, according to the method of singing the antiphons to the psalms and canticles at matins and lauds, gave great elasticity to ritual and the liturgical forms which accompanied it; and to the general customs of a church were added local practices. The separate uses of cathedral churches, gradually tending to assume a more uniform character as the use of Salisbury became the norm of liturgical observance throughout England, were distinguished from one another by diversity of detail rather than by any fundamental difference.

§ 16. The services were essentially the services of a community: the principal service of each day was a mass at which only canons, vicars and choristers, with the inferior ministers of the church, assisted. There were sometimes, as we have seen, parochial altars in the nave, and at Salisbury one of the chantry-priests acted as chaplain of the cathedral parish. But the neighbourhood of parish churches to our older cathedrals, either within the close itself or upon its verge, recalls the fact that the cathedral, if it was the mother church of the city and diocese, did not necessarily continue to provide parochial ministrations. At Exeter there are no less than three such churches on the edge of the cathedral precinct: at York the parish church of St. Michael-le-Belfry stands close to the doors of the minster, just as that of St. Olave stands just outside the gates of St. Mary's abbey. On great festivals such as Whitsunday, when representatives of distant parishes put in an appearance at the procession, or at an episcopal enthronement or visitation, there were probably large assemblies of lay people who came to see what they could. Similarly such curious ceremonies as the observances of Innocents' day, when the boy bishop was chosen by the choristers, or the feast of fools on the first day of the year, when, as at Lincoln in the fourteenth century, the vicars-choral were allowed extraordinary licence in church, doubtless drew large crowds of onlookers. But the services in choir were shut off from the public, and the persons who, as at Hereford and Wells, used the nave for secular purposes during divine service certainly did not come with any idea of taking part in it.

§ 17. Sermons, however, were provided for the

people and preached in the nave or perhaps at a pulpit outside the church. For these the chancellor of the church was responsible. At Lincoln the rule from the first half of the thirteenth century was a public sermon every Sunday. In addition to this, sermons were preached to the canons at the chapter meetings on the first three days of the Christmas and Easter octaves, on the feasts of Epiphany, the Assumption and Nativity of St. Mary, All Saints, and the Holy Trinity. Further, public sermons were delivered in the nave at the end of the penitential processions on Ash Wednesday, St. Mark's day, and the three Rogation days. Some of these were preached by the chancellor himself, but he was at liberty to depute them to other canons or suitable persons. The present-day custom of assigning preaching turns on the Sundays and festivals throughout the year to residentiaries and non-residentiaries in regular rotation was not finally fixed at Lincoln and Salisbury until the Restoration period. This, at a time when the residentiary chapter was assuming a fixed and exclusive form, was a valuable reminder of the fact that the residentiaries were not the only canons of the church. Each prebend, with a few exceptions, was thus held to carry with it the duty of an annual sermon in choir; and, although canons engaged at court or on public business of the realm or church, and those over sixty years of age or living more than fifty miles from the cathedral were excused, they had to provide a deputy to be approved by the authorities. The system in modern times has been extended to practically all cathedral churches, whether of the old or new foundations. At Lincoln the old importance of the chancellor as *theologus* of the church is retained in the

allotment to him of the sermons on the Sundays in Advent and the first five Sundays in Lent.

§ 18. Last of all must be mentioned the time-honoured custom of the recitation of the entire psalter daily by the whole body of the canons on behalf of the benefactors of the church, living and dead. For this purpose, each canon had a certain number of psalms assigned to him, which he was bound to repeat daily, whether present or absent. The position of the bishop as a canon of the church was remembered in the original allocation of the opening psalms to him. Thus a perpetual memorial was preserved of the unity of the chapter, divided though its members were from one another in practice; and, although it is possible that a canon holding prebends simultaneously in many churches, like John Drokenesford or William of Wykeham, or foreign cardinals beneficed in English cathedrals, were somewhat irregular in this pious task, the ideal remained. From men widely scattered throughout England, yet holding allegiance to a great church like Lincoln or York, this voice of united intercession has never ceased altogether to go up to God, concluding with the prayer: "Almighty and everlasting God, who art Lord alike of the living and of the dead and hast mercy upon all whom Thou foreknowest to be Thine in faith and deed, we humbly pray Thee that they for whom we have been minded to offer up our prayers, whether this present world still holds them bound in the flesh, or the world to come, now that they have cast off this mortal body, has received them, may by the clemency of Thy pity deserve to obtain pardon of all their transgressions and to inherit joys everlasting."

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SOUTH VIEW OF LICHFIELD CATHEDRAL.

(from Browne Willis.)

Plate xxx.

CANTERBURY CATHEDRAL. *Plate xxxi*

View in the Nave.

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